





THE HISTORY OF  
BRISTOL GRAMMAR SCHOOL



Photograph by Mike Martin

ROBERT THORNE

*From the portrait in the possession of the Trustees of Bristol Municipal Charities*

# THE HISTORY OF BRISTOL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

*By*  
C. P. HILL

*First published 1951 by Pitmans  
Revised edition published 1988  
by the Governors of Bristol Grammar School*

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be  
reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any  
form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying,  
recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the  
publishers and copyright holders.*

C.P. Hill

ISBN 0 9513425 0 9

Produced for the Governors of Bristol Grammar School  
by Alan Sutton Publishing, Gloucester  
Printed in Great Britain by WBC Print Bristol

*To*

THE STAFF AND PUPILS OF  
BRISTOL GRAMMAR SCHOOL



## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

**W**HEN in the summer of 1948 the Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, Mr. John Garrett, asked me whether I would consider writing a new history of the School, one fact made me hesitate to accept an invitation which was in all other ways most attractive. Books of this kind are customarily the work of those whose connexion with their schools has been long, often going back to their own boyhood; whereas I am not an Old Bristolian, and at the time of the invitation I had been a member of the School's staff for only one year. Yet on reflection I decided that this was not necessarily a disadvantage. I might even be the better able to write a school history of the sort which had always seemed to me most valuable—not a chronicle of isolated achievement, but a study which, while paying tribute to the great occasions of the story and to the achievements of distinguished alumni, would find its main theme in the development of a school in response to the changes in social environment brought by the passage of time. "Environment" here would be widely interpreted, national as well as local, technological as well as educational; and a great range of social factors, from price levels to civic corruption and from State intervention to the safety bicycle, would find their place in the story alongside the personalities of headmasters and benefactors. It was with this kind of history in mind that I accepted the invitation. I offer this book as a piece of social study, not simply as an act of filial piety.

Its writing has been a task as exciting as it has been exacting. The book is based throughout upon original materials, and I have added at the end of the text a section upon "Sources" giving an account of these as well as the detailed references for each chapter. But I should like to acknowledge here my debt to three earlier writers. In 1912 W. A. Sampson, a member of the staff of the Trustees of Bristol Municipal Charities and of the Governors of the School, wrote *A History of the Bristol Grammar School*. It is in many ways an unsatisfactory book, limited in approach and incoherent in style; nevertheless its documentation of the material in the possession of the governing body is careful and

very accurate. Five years before Sampson's book appeared, that great scholar, A. F. Leach, had written an account of the School's history in the *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*. This remarkable article—which, so far as I can judge, Sampson had never consulted—contains some rather fine-drawn speculation in its earlier pages, but it remains as a whole a valid and cogent description of many details of the School's history before 1907, and not least of the transactions concerning the School's lands in the sixteenth century. Finally, there is in the Central Library of the City of Bristol a copy of the typescript of an unpublished thesis written in 1924 by H. J. Larcombe, *The Progress of Education in Bristol*. This work, which on general educational grounds deserves to be more widely known than it is, contains a number of references to the Grammar School, and is of special interest by reason of its attempt to relate the story of this and other local schools to the social development of the city.

My search for evidence has taken me to a great variety of places—to the Public Record Office and the Bristol City Archives, to the British Museum and the Headmaster's study at Harrow, to a charming Dorset village and to a cottage overlooking Newlyn in Cornwall; and it has laid me under a heavy burden of debt to many people for much kind assistance. I must first thank the Governors of the School for giving me the opportunity of writing the book and for affording me full and free access to their records; and in particular their Chairman, Mr. Henley Evans, for his personal interest and advice. The Clerk to the Governors, Mr. F. H. Towill, has been a most encouraging and informative critic. His friendly staff at the Governors' Office have gone to great trouble to make my access to the records at all times easy and enjoyable; and I owe to Mr. K. W. Jones in particular a very great debt for the kindness and readiness with which he has answered my innumerable and persistent questions over a period of two years. I have gained much from the enthusiastic interest and sound judgment of Mr. L. H. Howes, who has doubled my indebtedness to him by reading the proofs.

The School's three former headmasters, Sir Cyril Norwood, Mr. J. E. Barton, and Dr. R. W. Moore, have each been most helpful, answering my questions, giving me written information about their time at Bristol, and showing a most generous interest

in the book. My present colleagues on the School staff have given me ample encouragement, and much advice on various matters; more especially I must thank Mr. R. J. Boulton for telling me details about the history of the Preparatory School, Mr. R. W. Keen for drawing my attention to a passage in Latimer's *Annals of Bristol*, Mr. N. G. Osborne for help in obtaining back numbers of the School *Chronicle*, Mr. F. C. Perry for so readily and so easily making available to me all the resources of the School Library, and Mr. V. K. D. Waite for reading part of the book in manuscript and enabling me to benefit from his expert knowledge of Bristol's history. A number of Old Boys have in personal conversations thrown light on their days at the School or given other assistance, notably Mr. G. H. Boucher, the Rev. S. T. Collins, Mr. J. Stevens Cox, Mr. A. K. Pickering, Mr. R. Pullen Baker, and Professor J. H. Sleeman. Mr. Wilfrid Leighton, formerly Clerk to the Governors, has explained to me some of the more obscure portions of the School's financial history, and has generously placed at my disposal the results of some of his own investigations of the records of the Charity Trustees.

Among those not directly connected with the School, I owe a special debt to Mr. T. L. Jarman of the University of Bristol, who read the entire work in manuscript and made many helpful suggestions. Mr. Will Corrigan went to great trouble to show me round the Bartholomews buildings, so long the home of the School, and Mr. H. C. Dent and Mr. Walter Minchinton have each supplied me with helpful pieces of information on particular details. The Archivist of the City of Bristol, Miss E. Ralph, has given me much useful advice and ready access to the City's records, and I am most grateful to Miss P. Slowley of the City Archives staff for her assistance in handling this material. The staffs of the Central Reference Library of the City of Bristol and of the Library of the University of Bristol have gone to much trouble on my behalf. I have to thank Mr. Roger Gilmour for all the time and skill which he has devoted to the illustrations; and the Charity Trustees, the Director of the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, and the Bristol City Valuer, for permission to reproduce photographs. It is a particular pleasure to express my gratitude to Mr. S. T. H. John of the publishers for his care in seeing this book through the press.

There remain my three greatest debts. The Headmaster, Mr. John Garrett, has given me constant encouragement and abundant practical help; as a critic he has been sympathetic, just, and tolerant. My colleague, Mr. Herbert Payne, has rendered me invaluable assistance with the research and has read the proofs, and his careful judgment has led to much fruitful discussion of problems in the School's story and saved me from many errors. Finally, the fact that it has become conventional for authors to thank their wives shall not prevent me from paying tribute to mine. This book has laid upon her a double burden; it has been a major interference with family leisure for over two years, and it has compelled her to many hours of typing. I am deeply grateful to her.

C. P. H.

BRISTOL  
*November, 1950*

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

**T**O have been asked by the Governors to add a chapter to the book which I wrote forty years ago is indeed an honour. It is a considerable responsibility, for it may be fairly claimed that the years since 1950 – the closing date of the first edition – have been as critical as any period of similar length in the entire story of Bristol Grammar School since the days of Robert Thorne. They have not merely brought independence and co-education to the School, but they have also seen the attitude, the daily life, the work of staff and pupils alike profoundly affected by contemporary social change and by major developments in national education.

This addition is in no sense a catalogue of events. The *Chronicle*, which itself has undergone a radical and attractive re-organisation since 1950, is the source for those. I have tried to indicate the main changes and to leave an impression of a vigorous and purposeful community which has responded to the sharp challenge of time.

Many people have helped me readily and greatly – boys, girls, staff, Friends, governors, Old Bristolians – without them there would be no chapter. My fellow governors have given me complete freedom to read official documents. My debt to Neville Osborne is great and one I cannot hope to repay. To everyone who has helped me, I should like to express my sincere thanks.

C.P.H.

*April 1986*

Since C.P.H. wrote this preface, his death occurred on August 1st 1986. However, it was agreed to publish his work which was complete to 1975 and to add a summary of achievements for 1975–86. This will leave future historians with the advantage of the perspective of time to assess the finer points of achievements and events. For this edition it

has been decided not to give references to the final chapter, as the main documentary sources are the Minute Books of the Governors, the annual Honours List which includes the Headmaster's annual report and the *Chronicle*.

To all who have helped bring this edition to completion a very sincere thank you.

J.H.

*March 1988*

## CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
<i>Preface</i>	vii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xiv
INTRODUCTION	xv
I. THE THORNES	I
II. THE SCHOOL AT THE BARTHOLOMEWS	20
III. UNITY STREET: DECLINE AND FALL	52
IV. RESURRECTION: CALDICOTT AND TYNDALLS PARK	78
V. HARD TIMES	108
VI. LATE VICTORIAN SCHOOL	140
VII. NORWOOD	164
VIII. 1917-1950	190
IX. 1950-1986	224
SOURCES	248
NOTES	251
APPENDICES:	
A. A List of the Principal Dates in School's History	265
B. The Thornes: A Genealogical Table.	267
C. The Chairmen of Governors of Bristol Grammar School	268
D. The Headmasters of the School	269
E. Prizes	271
F. The School Song	272
<i>Index</i>	275

## ILLUSTRATIONS

ROBERT THORNE (1492–1532) *Frontispiece*  
 from the portrait in the possession of the Trustees of  
 Bristol Municipal Charities.

PLATE	FACING PAGE
I. THE NICHOLAS THORNE BRASS now in the Great Hall of the School.	16
II. THE BARTHOLOMEWS from a drawing by J. Saunders (1820) in the Braikenridge Collection of the Bristol Art Gallery.	17
III. THE SWIFT MEMORIAL from the Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol.	32
IV. THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN UNITY STREET from a model of the buildings.	33
V. DR. CALDICOTT AND HIS STAFF from a photograph in the possession of the Headmaster in 1951	160
VI. THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN TYNDALLS PARK from an early photograph.	161
VII. THE GREAT HALL	176
VIII. SIR CYRIL NORWOOD (Headmaster, 1906–16) from the portrait by George Harcourt, R.A.	177
IX. TYNDALLS PARK: PAVILION AND WINTERSTOKE WING	192
X. JOSEPH EDWIN BARTON, ESQ. (Headmaster, 1917–38)	193
XI. THE LIBRARY – opened in October 1973.	208
XII. JOHN GARRETT, ESQ. (Headmaster, 1943–60) from the portrait by John Whitlock Codner, R.W.A.	209
XIII. DR. JOHN MACKAY (Headmaster, 1960–75)	228
XIV. THE SIXTH FORM CENTRE	229
XV. THE PAVILION AND PLAYING FIELDS AT FAILAND	229
XVI. ROY AVERY, ESQ. (Headmaster, 1975–86)	246
XVII. THE LOWER SCHOOL	247
XVIII. THE SCIENCE LABORATORIES, MODERNISED 1985–6	247

## INTRODUCTION

ENGLAND is uniquely fortunate in the possession of a number of great city grammar schools of old foundation. Intensely local in their origins, these schools have become national in their significance. Traditional in their approach to education, they have grown stronger with the swift expansion of their cities in the modern industrial age. They regard a high degree of independence as essential to their effective life, yet the creation of an organized system of secondary education during the first half of the twentieth century has emphasized rather than diminished their importance; for in this period one of their main functions has been to set exacting standards of academic achievement in the field of day-school education. They serve notable social ends. They educate great numbers of those who, by accepting varied responsibilities of work and service, maintain and develop their own cities. For many others they open a way to the universities and to the full use of ability in wider fields of scholarship and administration. Increasingly in a democratic age they mix together in their classrooms children from every sort of social background, thus returning to the fulfilment of one of the ancient tasks of the grammar school. They are a channel, still perhaps the principal channel, through which the liberal culture of the universities enters the vigorous life of great industrial and commercial regions. Their continuing achievement makes them a vital part of the national heritage.

Bristol Grammar School is the great west-country representative of these schools. It had its obscure and conjectural medieval background; its rich merchant founder of Tudor times and the unscrupulous kin of that founder; its rigidly classical curriculum and its early connexion with the universities. It had its seventeenth-century troubles over religion and finance. It was prosperous and complacent in the early eighteenth century; then it had its catastrophic decline, with one headmaster who was merely decadent followed by another who was positively scandalous. It enjoyed its Victorian recovery and found its great, or almost great, Victorian headmaster. It fell upon further

troubles in the eighteen-nineties, and was rescued by the greatest of its headmasters, by a splendid series of benefactions from Bristol citizens, and by the beginnings of State aid. The twentieth century sees it in the front rank of English schools, sending its sons to commerce in their own city, to scholarship at the universities, to high responsibility in national life. Its history epitomizes much of the history of English grammar schools, in particular that of city grammar schools. It offers an example of a great and traditional English contribution to education.

## *Chapter I*

### THE THORNES

ON 17th, March 1532, Henry VIII issued at Chelsea letters patent under the Great Seal of England. They were to be of high concern to Bristol and to its citizens present and future.

Know ye that we considering the pious intent of our beloved Thomas West, knight, Lord La Warr, George Croft, chaplain, Robert Thorne and Nicholas Thorne, of our town of Bristol, and John Godrych, clerk, executor of the will of Robert Thorne deceased, in the foundation, maintenance, and support of a certain Grammar School in the said town of Bristol or in the suburbs of the same for boys in the same school to be instructed in good manners and literature, for the better sustenance of a master and one usher, or two ushers, of the same and other things necessary to be done of our special grace and certain knowledge and our own mere motion . . . do give and grant licence . . . to the mayor, burgesses and commonalty of the said town of Bristol . . . that they and their successors may acquire and take the house or hospital of Saint Bartholomew in our said town of Bristol with the profits and advantages which now are or in time past were accepted or reputed as parcel of the same hospital or which the aforesaid George Croft, master of the hospital aforesaid, ever had held or enjoyed in right of the same hospital in the said town of Bristol or the parishes of Clifton, Stapleton, Sodbury and Wickwar, in our county of Gloucester . . . or elsewhere within this our realm of England, to the yearly value of £40 beyond all charges and reprises, as well from the aforesaid Thomas West, knight, Lord La Warr, the true patron and founder of the hospital aforesaid, as from the said George Croft, master and keeper of the house or hospital aforesaid, and from the brethren and sisters of the same house or hospital. . . .

So runs the document which has become known as the Charter of Bristol Grammar School; and so on 17th March each year governors, headmaster, staff, and boys attend service at Bristol Cathedral and there give thanks to God for the establishment of the foundation of which they are members.<sup>1</sup>

The Charter is a handsome and interesting document. To King Henry indeed it meant no more than to the clerk who wrote it, and in 1532 he had little time to spare for education even in the second city in his kingdom; his infatuation with Anne Boleyn was reaching its depth, and he was striving to find ways of evading the canon law which thwarted his wish to marry her. To-day the royal arms of the Tudors lend their bright colour to the Great Hall of the School, but there is no evidence that King Henry played more than a formal part in its history. Bristol Grammar School is in no direct sense a royal foundation.

The persons of “pious intent” named in the Charter form an interesting group, representative—in their association as in their several careers—of much that was significant in English life under the early Tudors. Thomas West, ninth Baron de la Warr, was a member of the old nobility and the owner of considerable estates in Sussex and at Shepton Mallet in Somerset. Like most of Henry’s peerage, he steered a difficult course in these times of swift political change. He had been present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and in 1526 had given magnificent hospitality to King Henry at his estate of Hahnaker in Sussex; and he later enjoyed the ambiguous honour of being one of the peers chosen to condemn Anne Boleyn. But he was suspect as an opponent of the religious changes, and in the crisis of 1538–9, when Henry was dissolving the greater monasteries and attacking the Catholic nobility, de la Warr was sent to the Tower. For a short time he remained in peril of the block; it is characteristic of the age, and of the Tudor sense of humour, that his release cost him his estate of Hahnaker, which Henry took, besides some “fees” to Thomas Cromwell. De la Warr was lucky.<sup>2</sup> With him had been arrested the Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral, one George Crofts, whom it is hard not to identify with the man of that name in the Grammar School Charter. Crofts, evidently a client of de la Warr (for he was Rector of Shepton Mallet as well, it

is interesting to note, as of Winford near Bristol), had been indiscreet enough to deny the King's supremacy over the Church. He had no estates with which to buy pardon, and he was executed in 1539.<sup>3</sup>

The nobleman and the clerk stood for the old order. The merchants, Robert and Nicholas Thorne, whatever their religious views, were men of the new age. They belonged to a family prominent in the public life of Bristol and distinguished in the history of English exploration of the New World. Unfortunately the records of the Thornes are fragmentary and confusing, and the historians of four centuries have inevitably added some false trails to the story. The Thornes can fairly claim to share in the celebrity of the Cabots; their memory has certainly endured fog and misconstruction akin to that which has enveloped the more eminent adventurers. One small reason for this is that they were a prolific clan with a restricted taste in Christian names. The Robert and Nicholas of the Charter were the sons of another Robert; the younger Robert was a bachelor, but Nicholas married twice and had at least ten legitimate children, among them a third Robert and a second Nicholas.<sup>4</sup>

The connexion of Bristol Grammar School with the Thorne family allegedly begins with the eldest Robert, although, as we shall see, the documentary evidence for this is slight. Robert Thorne I was a merchant of Bristol in those vigorous years towards the end of the fifteenth century when the city was one of the main starting points of Atlantic exploration, sending its sailors on voyages to find new islands or a new continent to the west.<sup>5</sup> He first seems to appear in the city's records in 1479, in connexion with trade with Portugal; in 1510 he was one of fifteen citizens appointed to a commission of admiralty; in 1515 he—or, less likely, his son Robert II—was mayor; he made his will in January, 1517–18, and he died some time before July, 1519. The rest is tradition or conjecture of a peculiarly fascinating kind. Writing at Seville in 1527 to Dr. Edmund Lee, English Ambassador at Lisbon, Robert Thorne II advocated a voyage to discover a northern passage to the Far East; in the course of his letter he said—

As some sicknesses are hereditarious, and come from the

father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discoverie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Bristow named Hugh Eliot, were the discoverers of the New found lands.<sup>6</sup>

Tradition attributes this voyage of Eliot and Thorne to 1494. Three years later, on 2nd May, 1497, John Cabot sailed from Bristol in the *Mathew* on the famous voyage in whose course he hoisted the flag of England somewhere on the coastline of North America. He took with him some unnamed Bristol merchants, and it is a reasonable conjecture that Robert Thorne I was one of them. It is also possible that he was on one of the ships which set out with John Cabot in 1498 on that mysterious second voyage in which the great Venetian sailed out of the pages of recorded history.<sup>7</sup> This second voyage was intended as a great trading expedition to tap the untold riches of Cathay and Cipangu; it was one of the great failures of history, for if it proved anything at all—and even that is conjectural—it proved the presence of North America as a barrier on the route to Cathay. To the men of Bristol it was at once disillusionment and incentive to new effort, for in 1501-2 Henry VII granted letters patent for voyages of discovery and annexation to two syndicates of Bristol merchants.<sup>8</sup> Robert Thorne I was not among them, but, in view of his past record, it is hard to believe that he was unconcerned in these projects, particularly since his friend Hugh Eliot was a member of the second group, the "Company Adventurers into the new Found Lands." We have only scraps of evidence about these later voyages, but they are scraps which make it at least possible that Bristol merchants founded a short-lived colony in North America some eighty years before Sir Walter Raleigh's first Virginia settlement.

Our knowledge of Robert Thorne I depends much on surmise. For his death we have the substantial evidence of his will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at Lambeth on 8th July, 1519.<sup>9</sup> His estates passed to his sons Robert and Nicholas, and there is no direct reference in this will to prove that Robert Thorne I had any intention of devoting part of his wealth to the foundation of a school. It is, however, worth noting, in the light of what was to follow, that among his executors was one "Sir

John Goodrygge, parson of Christ Church," and that his instructions to these executors were—

to see my will and my debts paid and my will fulfilled, and the rest of all my goods to be sold and done for my soul where that ye find most need, and I require as ye will answer to for God that this be done as God knoweth my mind as I put my full trust in you for, and God send me space and grace I would do it myself.

Robert Thorne II, the traditional founder of Bristol Grammar School, is a more important and less shadowy figure than his father. We have more documentary evidence about him; and we have a portrait, or at least copies of a portrait, in the manner of Holbein.<sup>10</sup> It reveals a man of firm and vigorous self-assurance, with more than a touch of egoism, a man accustomed to be obeyed. There is a kind of frank grossness about the face; the man was a merchant of considerable wealth, trading in wines and rich cloths, and there is no reason to suppose that he denied himself the pleasures of the world; and the evidence of his will, with its careful provision for Vincent, the son of his Spanish mistress, shows that he was no better and no worse than many a man of his class and age. Yet it is not wholly fanciful to detect something else in Robert Thorne's face—a hint of long-sighted idealism, of genius which moved beyond the commonplace. This blend of coarse materialism and wide-ranging imagination was not uncommon in Tudor England, and in this as in other ways Robert Thorne strongly resembled his sovereign, Henry VIII.

Born in 1492, he passed his boyhood in Bristol amid all the excitement bred by the voyages of John Cabot and the Bristol Venturers. His father sent him to Seville as his agent, and he seems to have spent most of his life in that city and in London rather than in his native Bristol. As a merchant dealing in cloth and other commodities he acquired the considerable wealth which he was to distribute in the varied benefactions of his will. In Seville he was a person of note, as is suggested by the inventory of goods made at his death. "The hole inventory of Robt. Thorne Goodes diseased"<sup>11</sup> amounted to nearly £17,000, according to the document preserved in the Public Record Office.

Yet Robert II was far more than a wealthy merchant who added great profits to a rich inheritance. He had all his father's devotion to exploration; and no doubt Seville, with its voyages to the Canaries, the Azores, and the West Indian islands, sharpened the appetite implanted by Bristol. His interests were not solely, perhaps not even mainly, economic. They were scientific. Robert Thorne II holds a high place among the English geographers of the sixteenth century.

He has left us two remarkable essays to validate this claim. The first was that letter of 1527 to Dr. Edmund Lee from which we have already quoted. Lee, English Ambassador at Lisbon, wanted information about the prospects of the spice trade; Thorne, in his memorial supplying the information, took the opportunity to advocate his own belief that England could open up a northern passage to the Far East and thus capture much of the trade. It was a spirited claim, urged in forthright terms. "For as all judge, *Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura*; So I judge, there is no land uninhabitable, nor Sea innavigable." "If I had facultie to my will, it should be the first thing that I woulde understande, even to attempt, if our Seas Northward be navigable to the Pole or no."<sup>12</sup> This doctrine, that of the north-polar or north-western route to the Far East, is the theme of the second document as well. In 1528 Thorne's friend Roger Barlow came back to Spain after taking part in Sebastian Cabot's La Plata voyage (in which Thorne had invested, and probably lost, 1400 ducats); and in 1531, when Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn was wrecking Anglo-Spanish relations, Barlow and Thorne returned to England. Some time between these two dates they drafted what has become known as "The Declaration of the Indies," one of the most celebrated pieces of geographical propaganda in English history.<sup>13</sup> The hand which held the pen was probably that of Barlow; the ideas were those of Robert Thorne. The Declaration proclaimed the doctrine of the North West Passage, demonstrating that once English seamen could break through into the open water which was believed to encircle the Pole, the wealth of the Pacific shores was theirs for the taking. It was a doctrine that had a significant influence on a later generation of English seamen. Barlow's *Brief Summe of Geographie*, in which the Declaration was virtually reproduced, was published in 1540-1,

some nine years after Thorne's death. It had no influence on Henry VIII, who wasted the national wealth in European quarrels; but it shaped the thoughts and dreams of some of the greatest of the Elizabethans. Thorne and Barlow were the intellectual forerunners of men of action like Humphrey Gilbert, Martin Frobisher, and John Davis, the intrepid searchers for the North West Passage.

On 31st January, 1531-2, Robert Thorne II took the first of those steps which have associated his name with the development of Bristol Grammar School. By an indenture of covenant of that date he entered into contract with Lord La Warr, patron of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Bristol.<sup>15</sup> This provided for the transfer of the hospital and its property to three trustees, Robert Thorne, Nicholas, his brother, and John Gooderiche; Robert in return promised that within the space of six years he would—

Ordain, prepare and make a convenient scole house for a free grammar scole to be taught and kept upon the said house or hospital or upon some part of the said lands and tenements belonging to the said house or hospital.

He was also to

provide, establish and order a schoolmaster and usher to teche and kepe the said free scole, with such convenient wage to them to be appointed as shall or may conveniently come out of the rents, issues, and profits of the said lands.

Lord la Warr was to be "namyde and takyn" as one of the principal founders of the school, and George Crofts, Master of the Hospital, as "a singular benefactor thereof." There was the customary extensive provision for the souls of benefactors—

a solum obit to be kept yearly for ever on the eleventh daye of October at the said Bartilmews to pray for the souls of the said Lord La Warre, George and Robert and of Sir Thomas, now Lord La Warre, and for the soule of Sir Thomas West, knight, late Lord La Warre, and for the souls of all their ancestors and progenitors, and this obit to be kept with ten prestes and six clarke... also that the said scolemaister and usher shall appoint and assign the scolers of the said scole to say such

certaine prayers at their departing in the evening as shall be devised and appointed by the said Lord La Warre.

Nor was the well-being of the existing inmates of the hospital neglected: the almsfolk who dwelled there were to stay for the rest of their lives and to receive fivepence a week each, and a priest was to be maintained there until the school was established.

This deed was the practical preliminary to the Charter which followed within two months, and it provided the habitation in which Bristol Grammar School remained for over two hundred years. The "Hospital of the Bartilmews" stood at the foot of Christmas Steps in Bristol. Founded as a leper hospital, it had by 1532 been for some time an almshouse. Its transformation into a school was neither novel nor unusual; there were precedents going back to the reign of Edward II, and the local history both of Reading and of Banbury, for example, provides parallels.<sup>16</sup> Still less is there any suggestion in this transaction of the uprooting of monks to make way for schoolboys, or of the victory of Protestant ideas over Catholic ones. It may be permissible to see it as an episode characteristic of an age which was increasingly looking to the future rather than to the past; it was in fact neither distinctively medieval nor distinctively modern.

Neither the indenture of covenant nor the Charter does much to answer two interesting questions about the School's early history. Was Robert Thorne founding a wholly new school, or merely assisting the transfer of an existing one to more commodious quarters? And when in fact did the school begin its career in St. Bartholomew's? It must be said at once that unless—as is very unlikely—new evidence comes to light, no definite answer is possible for either of these questions; and that such evidence as we have is so slight that even tentative conclusions are hard to reach.

It has been suggested that "Bristol Grammar School in all probability existed before the Conquest" and that "at all events it existed before St. Augustine's Abbey, now the Cathedral Church, as a public school under the government of the laity and secular clergy."<sup>17</sup> Several scraps of evidence point to the existence of a grammar school, or grammar schools, in Bristol at intervals during the Middle Ages. Some time in the twelfth

century one Robert Hardynge, burgess of Bristol, established "the school of Bristol for teaching Jews and other little ones under the government" of the Kalendars' Gild: but Leland tells us that "William Erle of Gloucester, founder of the monasterye of Cainesham, gave the prefecture and mastershippe of the Schole in Brightstow to Cainesham and took it from the Calendares."<sup>18</sup> There was Gaunt's Hospital, of special interest to Bristol Grammar School because of the eighteenth century transfer to its site\*: its establishment, enlarged in 1259, provided for twenty-seven poor persons of which number twelve were to be scholars. The Great Red Book of Bristol, in a rent-roll of the king's and town's property in the borough, contains several references to an "old school opposite Saint Peters." At the election of a new Abbot of St. Augustine's in 1353 a witness bore testimony that "from childhood he had been a companion and friend of the said elect at school" in Bristol. Finally, the better part of two centuries after this fourteenth-century Abbot's schooldays, his successors—as a result of one of the not infrequent rows between Abbey and City—were solemnly ordered on the afternoon of every Easter Sunday and the forenoon of every Easter Monday to await the mayor and corporation "at the door of the Grammar Scole at Frome Gate" and accompany them to St. Augustine's.<sup>19</sup>

The total value of such fragmentary pieces of evidence is tantalizingly uncertain, but they scarcely seem to justify any considerable claim. All they suggest is that the education in grammar of the sons of Bristol citizens was not neglected during the Middle Ages. The lack of further evidence is not of itself conclusive, but it is at present a weighty argument against the continuous existence of one grammar school in Bristol in that period. Nevertheless, the last of these fragments, that reference to "the grammar school at Frome Gate," dating as it does from the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, is of much interest when it is taken in conjunction with a number of items in the accounts of the Bristol Corporation. By chance the earliest corporation account which is extant is the Mayor's Audit Book for 1532, and under the heading of "Chrystynmasse streat alias Kryfsmythstreate" occur the entries of "a tenement under

\* See below, pp. 55-60.

the scole house in the tenure of William Whiting the younger, 4s." and "a tenement over Frome Gate, which the Scolemaster of the Gramer hath rente free for the techyng of chyldryn 36s. 8d."<sup>20</sup> The last entry alone is proof enough of the existence of a grammar school over the Frome Gate in 1532, and taken together with the previous reference to the abbots of St. Augustine's, it provides fair foundation for the view that, whatever the earlier history, this particular school had been in existence on that site for a number of years.

The audit books give us more than this.<sup>21</sup> In 1533, 1535, and 1536 they tell us of the tenement over Frome Gate which, as the entry for 1536 puts it, "the Scolemaster hath rent free for the teaching of chyldern"; and the "scolemaster," according to entries for 1532 and 1533, was one Thomas Moffatt. But in 1540, under "Krystmas Street alias Kryfte Smyth Streate," the tenement over Frome Gate is described as "sometime the scole house" and is held by "William Dewe, coriar." Further, Thomas Moffat does not reappear until 1542, when he is paid 6s. 8d. In 1543, the same sum is paid to him as "the old scolemaster," and this and later entries, which continue until the midsummer of 1552, suggest that this was in fact a quarterly pension, and that Moffatt, to whom Robert Thorne had left £25 in his will in 1532,<sup>22</sup> had retired from his post as schoolmaster in 1542. From all this we reasonably make two inferences. First, the school which entered "the Bartilmews" under Robert Thorne's endowment was in fact not a new creation, but a school which had been in existence over the Frome Gate for some time before the 1530s. Thomas Moffatt and his pupils migrated: they had not far to go, for little more than the width of a modern main road separates the site of the Frome Gate from the foot of Christmas Steps. Strictly, Robert Thorne II was more benefactor than founder; but his benefaction so enabled the school to emerge from conjecture into history that he may quite properly be called its founder. Secondly, the move took place not earlier than 1536 and not later than 1540. The delay may well have been the result of difficulty with, or local concern for, the almsfolk: whatever its cause, the grammar school boys did not take possession of St. Bartholomew's Hospital until over four years had passed since King Henry VIII had granted their Charter.

Robert Thorne II did not live to see the school in its new home. He died, aged forty, in the summer of 1532.<sup>23</sup> His will, made in May and proved in October of that year, is a revealing document, at once personal and characteristic of a wealthy merchant of the Tudor period. The separate legacies alone—quite apart from the residue which was to go to his brother Nicholas, for Robert was a bachelor—amounted to well over £10,000. They went to a wide range of persons and causes—including such diverse ones as the repair of highways, the four orders of friars which had houses in Bristol, the marriage of poor maidens and the relief of poor prisoners in London and Bristol, and the provision of corn for poor cloth-makers. All this may have meant no more than the formal and customary charity of the rich in that age. The bequest of £500 to the Corporation of Bristol as a loan charity, to be lent free of interest to young men setting up in business as cloth-workers, was a thoughtful gift from a man who had himself, so far as we know, always been well-to-do. His treatment of his Spanish mistress and their child was both shrewd and emotional. The child, Vincent, who was evidently under age, received what was by far the biggest single legacy of all—£3000, to be invested “at St. George’s in Jeane” to his use and benefit “by Carolo Catanio that hath the keeping of him”: the mother, Anagaria, got only £50—and she was to renounce all claim to Vincent’s bequest which, if the boy died, was to come back to Robert Thorne’s legal heirs. “My godson Robert Thorne, son of my brother Nicholas” was given £100.

The School fared modestly rather than magnificently: “also I bequeathe towards the making upp of the Free Scole of Saincte Bartholomews in Brystowe three hundred pounds sterlind and more that my Lord dalawarre owyth as by his obligation apperethe.” It may be that his executors added more out of the £1000 which he left to be distributed as “shall seme best for my soule,” but this is unlikely. The School had in fact been handsomely endowed under the original indenture with Lord La Warre, for the Bartholomew lands and properties in the city of Bristol and its suburbs were numerous and extensive.<sup>24</sup> Robert Thorne no doubt died in the confident belief that he had laid a firm foundation. He had earned the inscription which,

according to John Stow, adorned the monument on his tomb in the church of St. Christopher in the Stocks in London—

Robertus cubat hic Thornus, mercator honestus  
 Qui sibi legitimas arte paravit opes.  
 Huic vitam dederat parvo Bristolia quondam  
 Londonium hoc tumulo clauerat ante diem.  
 Ornavit studiis patriam, virtutibus auxit  
 Gymnasium erexit sumptibus ipse suis.  
 Lector, quisquis ades, requiem cineri, precor, ora  
 Supplex, et precibus numina flecte tuis.

But the final word on Robert Thorne must belong to the author of *The Worthies of England*. Thomas Fuller says, “I confess, Thorns came in by man’s curse; and our Saviour saith ‘Do men gather grapes of thorns?’ But this our Thorn (God send us many coppices of them) was a blessing to our nation, and wine and oil may be said freely to flow from him.”<sup>25</sup>

To Nicholas Thorne I, Robert’s brother and heir, fell the legal responsibility of fulfilling the terms of the Charter as well as the moral responsibility of carrying out his brother’s wishes, for his fellow-trustee John Gooderiche died soon after Robert. Nicholas had neither the national fame nor the travelled experience of the brother; he lived and died in Bristol and was buried in St. Werburgh’s Church. His interests seem to have been notably domestic, as the fine memorial brass now in the Great Hall of the School suggests; headed by two shields of brass with pewter inlaid, it portrays him with his two wives and ten children kneeling at his side.<sup>26</sup> His portrait shows a man very different from Robert—tight-lipped, severe, and perhaps mean. He was no puritan, for his will contains a provision of £66 13s. 4d. for “my bastarde sonne now being in Biscaye”: but there is no sign in his face of either the buoyant worldliness or the ranging imagination of his brother. There are hints, too, in what we know about him, of qualities that scarcely justify the unusually fulsome Latin elegiacs of the brass, which describe him as “a famous and upright merchant whose words were governed by truth and whose deeds were ruled by justice and virtue.” Men who attacked him over his alleged part in the persecution of a

heretic in 1539 called him a niggard and a knave.<sup>27</sup> But this may be mere gossip—public men, especially those as rich as Nicholas was, cannot avoid making enemies, and certainly he served Bristol well, acting at various times as Sheriff, Member of Parliament, and Mayor. He was, it may be added, brother-in-law of William Harper, later Lord Mayor of London and benefactor of Beford School.

His part in the development of the School is somewhat equivocal. He must in some sense have supervised or organized the move to the hospital in the late 1530s, and a deed poll of 1st July, 1561, tells us that he “did make a gramer scole within the said house of the Bartilmews and did place and set one John Haris, scholemaster, to teche gramer there.”<sup>28</sup> Harris presumably was Thomas Moffatt’s successor, appointed in 1542. It is clear that the move was complete well before Nicholas’s death, which took place in August, 1546. His will, made on the fourth day of that month, contains almost as wide a range of bequests as that of Robert; and those which affect the School, though not munificent in amount, suggest an intimate concern for its conduct.<sup>29</sup>

There were bequests to the master and usher. The latter, one John Sergeant, received a legacy which was valuable but which a later age would regard as curious and indeed embarrassing—“three tonne of saulte.” John Harris was a little more fortunate, getting “five markes sterling (£3 6s. 8d.) and a black gowne price 30s., for his paynes taking hereafter to bring upp youthe there in vertue to the pleasure of God.” Further, his future was to be secured. He was “to have the same some that he how hathe for terme of his life, sicke and hole; and yf the lands of the Bartilmews may be hereafter improved by any meanes, the rents to be annye more than it is at this present day, then I will that his wages be enlarged to £20 by the yeare.” To the School itself Nicholas left, first, a contingent legacy. Vincent Thorne, Robert’s illegitimate son, received 200 ducats and the residue of his legacy under Robert’s will: if he died under twenty-one, these sums were to go “to the use and behoofe of the Bartholomews in Bristowe,” there “to be employed to the most advantage that maye growe of and towards” the building and “reparacyon” of the School and in purchasing land for it. Then

he directed that £36 13s. 4d. be spent on garnishing the altars and vestments and "for the glasyng and reformynge" of the windows of the church and School at St. Bartholomew's—an interesting instruction on the eve of the Edwardian Reformation. Finally there was a bequest which we may regard as peculiarly characteristic of the Thorne family. He gave the School £30 sterling to make a library, and added "I give and bequeath all such booke as I have meete for the said library; more, my astrolabia which is in the keeping of John Spryute, poticary, with cartes and mappis, with such instruments as is in my house belonging to the science of astronomy or cosmografia." It is one of the minor disasters of the School's history that this collection of geographical material was allowed to disappear. Much of it existed as late as 1687, but all has gone since; and it is said that the astrolabe and other instruments were sold to a porter for a few shillings.

In his lifetime Nicholas Thorne I was a wise administrator of the School's affairs; at his death he showed himself a judicious benefactor. Yet there can be no doubt that his most important single contribution to the School's history was an act of omission. He failed to carry out his duty as a trustee to convey to "the mayor, burgesses and commonalty" of Bristol the lands and property of St. Bartholomew's. Why he failed, we do not know: there is no ground for suspecting Nicholas I himself of sinister intentions, whatever later events may lead us to think of the next generation of Thornes. Legal delays can scarcely have held up action for the entire fourteen years which intervened between the deaths of Robert II and Nicholas I. It may be that the Corporation was reluctant to fulfil its responsibility in times so perilous to ecclesiastical and educational endowment as the 'thirties and 'forties of the sixteenth century. Perhaps it was simply a combination of early caution and later slackness on Nicholas's part. He was conscious of the seriousness of his omission, for he directed in his will that sums should be spent on learned counsel "to assure and convey the lands belonging to the said Bartilmews to the Chamber of Bristowe . . . and for the assurance and continuance of the said school." Whatever the cause of his failure, its effects were lamentable: they included over half-a-century of litigation and growing financial difficulty

for the School, and the loss of the income from much of the original endowment.

There is a tailpiece to the story of Nicholas Thorne I's contribution to the School. On his portrait there is written, "1530. *Ex spinis uvas collegimus*;" and in 1909 the first three words of this punning inscription were adopted as the School's motto. It would be unwise to take this as a literal comment on the history of the School, and indeed as an aim it can scarcely be reconciled with modern educational psychology. Yet as a motto it remains a happy choice as well as a neat pun.<sup>30</sup>

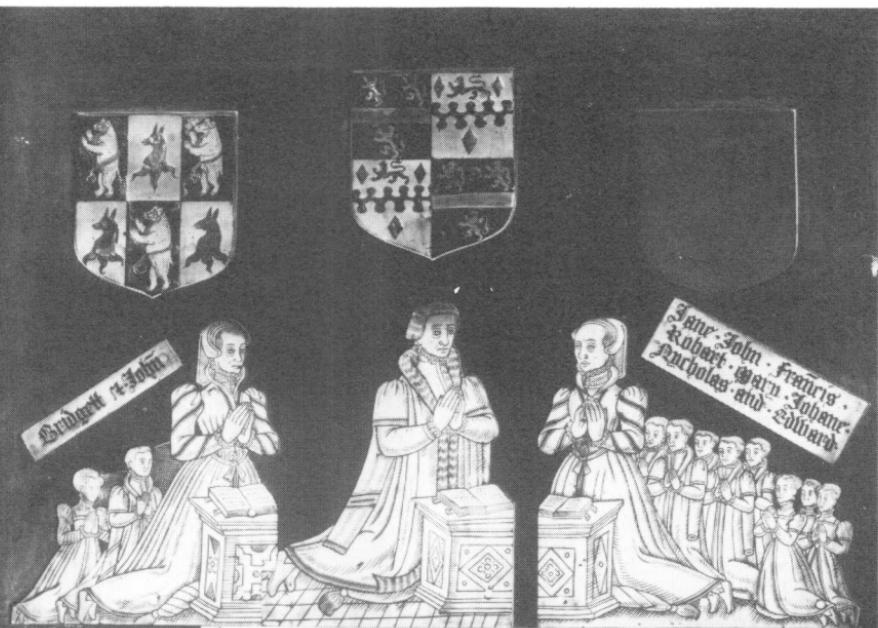
Nicholas Thorne I died in 1546. In 1621 two trustees, John Whitson and Abel Kitchen, finally conveyed to the Corporation of Bristol what remained of the Bartholomew lands.<sup>31</sup> Between these two dates there was played out a prolonged and sordid comedy. Its theme was the fate of a rich property. It had no heroes, but two villains, one male and one female, both members of the Thorne family. Their devices included legal chicanery, downright theft, sheer stubbornness, and the appeal to pity; as a consequence, the story is complicated and its issue was long in doubt. That issue was vital to Bristol Grammar School, but the detailed ramifications of the tale, however interesting they are to the student of human ingenuity, are scarcely germane to the purpose of this book. What follows is a study of the principal events and scenes.<sup>32</sup>

The heir of Nicholas I was his eldest son, Robert Thorne III, who died childless and without having followed the instructions of his father's will about the Bartholomew lands. Thus the Thorne property and the responsibility for the School passed to his brother, Nicholas Thorne II, the first of the two villains of our tale. He seems to have been under age when he inherited: he seems also to have been a shrewd young man who determined from the start to make what he could out of the Bartholomew lands and who used the established place of his family in Bristol public life to win support on the Corporation for his dubious purposes. He acted with circumspection and with skill, yielding on non-essentials while holding firmly to his main objectives and using time to strengthen his position. He was completely successful.

The problem of the Bartholomew lands slept, so far as our documents are concerned, until 1557-8. Then the two Bristol M.P.s, William Tyndall and Robert Butler, intervened, presumably at the instigation of the Corporation, and came to an agreement with Nicholas, who was still a minor.<sup>33</sup> Nicholas for his part conceded, somewhat vaguely, that the Corporation should have "a sufficient assurance" about the disputed lands "to the use and maintenance of a free schole perpetually to be kept in the said house." In return the M.P.s agreed that Nicholas within a year of his majority should have an estate for life or for twenty-one years in the property "reserving the old accustomed rents." The Corporation was to carry out Nicholas I's will about the school—whatever that meant. This was clearly a compromise and an unconvincing one, which did no more than prepare the way for the next scene in 1561. This, at first glance, was a surprising one, no less than the surrender by Nicholas, now of age, to the Corporation of all the Bartholomew lands "for the accomplishment as well of the good purpose and will of the said Robert my uncle and the said Nicholas my father."<sup>34</sup> The mayor and burgesses were to have the lands—

for ever to the uses and intents of the fynding of a Free Gramer Scole within the said house called the Bartilmewes for ever, and to fynde one sufficient and able person being sufficiently lerned and virtuouse to be Schole master their, and one or two other sufficient person or persons being also sufficiently lerned and virtuous to be usher or ushers.

*Reculer pour mieux sauter.* Nicholas had not repented: he had simply used the interval since 1558 to square, or at any rate win over a majority of, the Corporation, and the object of his surrender can only have been to provide a valid legal background to his next step. For this, on 20th September, 1561—barely two months after the surrender—was what has been called "the fatal agreement"<sup>35</sup> whereby Nicholas Thorne and his descendants got all the Bartholomew estates on a perpetual lease at a rent of £30 per annum. The Corporation retained for the School only the Hospital site and buildings thereon, and these Nicholas magnanimously agreed to keep in repair. It was a minor triumph of intrigue in the bold Renaissance manner: and it is almost

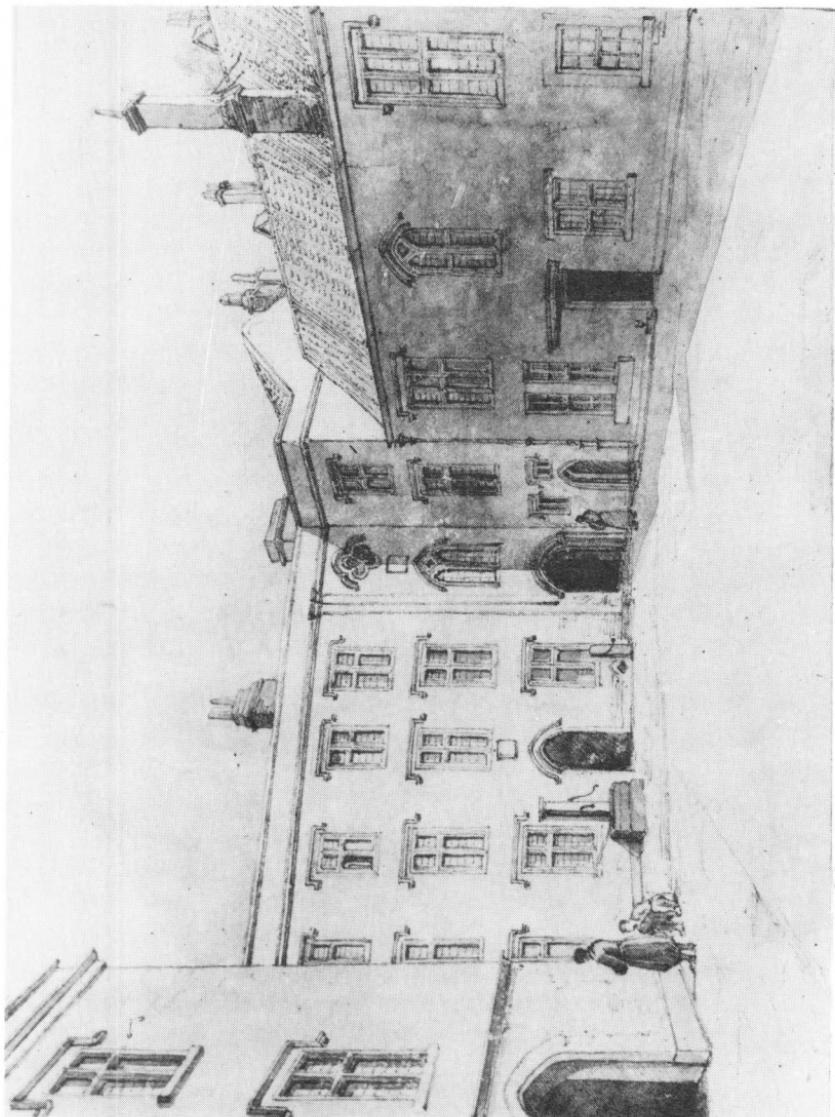


Hac nicholaus humero Thorne iacet optime lector  
 Nam mercator nobis ait: probus:  
 Cum dura fides, combantia farta regebat.  
 Et virtute vacans acta nulla tunc.  
 Britolice natus fato magis: functus ibidem  
 Am magis aeterni uiuere dignus erat  
 Hanc eterni pretore rexim: scholae: superba  
 Ornat: fratris uirtutibus ait: sibi:  
 Nummum: patre lenti respublica tota  
 Britolice: cum iam honestate inget  
 humer: senes: iuuenes: pueri: inuenter: puerelle  
 Totag: plebs deficit tam credibili cito  
 Coniuge que gemina et his quina mola beatu  
 Sedibus vis miseris sustulit omnipotens.  
 Cum in aethereas annus penetravit in auras  
 Reliquas tantum corporis arcta tenuer  
 Uxorem: eadem fidam fructu arcta priorem  
 Atq: hunc qui primus natus utriq: fuit.  
 Am obiit. 19 Augusti A: dñi. 1546. etatis sui 50

Photograph by Mike Martin

PLATE I. THE NICHOLAS THORNE BRASS  
*Now in the Great Hall of the School*

PLATE II. THE BARTHOLOMEWS  
The site of the School from c. 1540 to 1767.  
*From a drawing by J. Saunders (1820) in the Braikenridge Collection of Bristol Art Gallery: by permission of the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery*



satisfying to find Nicholas II later on becoming chamberlain (financial officer) to the Corporation. But the Mayor and burgesses had clearly committed a scandalous breach of their trust.

Nicholas enjoyed the fruits of his success for thirty years. It is scarcely surprising to find him almost immediately setting about selling much of the property, reserving only small rents for himself and his heirs, or to read entries in the Corporation accounts which indicate that, despite the terms agreed in 1561, the city, not Nicholas, bore the cost of repairing the School buildings.<sup>36</sup> But he did not stop at failing even to perform his side of the very advantageous bargain he had made. If we are to believe the Chancery commissioners appointed to inquire into the affair in 1609, Nicholas, whose office as chamberlain gave him access to the city records, had tried to cover his tracks by destroying many of the documents relating to the Bartholomew lands.<sup>37</sup> Altogether it is a sorry tale of highly successful sharp practice, the effect of which was to make the Corporation bear much of the cost of maintaining the School, and that at a time when prices were rising steeply. From 1566-7 to the end of the century the £30 annual rent payable by Nicholas Thorne was wholly swallowed in the salaries of the master and usher.<sup>38</sup> The Corporation had to find the remainder of the expenditure on the School.

Nicholas II died in 1591, leaving his property to three co-heiresses. Six years later these three partitioned the estates, and the daughter who became the owner of the Bartholomew lands was Mrs. Alice Pykes. Her performance in this role was to prove her a daughter of whom Nicholas would have been proud; if she had not quite his gift for intrigue, she was tenacious, stubborn, and slippery in negotiations. Nicholas had, so to speak, taken the offensive: Alice Pykes had to defend herself against a counter-attack by those citizens of Bristol who felt, forty years after the agreement of 1561, that the affairs of the Bartholomew lands needed investigation. Their feelings were no doubt sharpened by the monetary troubles of these years of price revolution, when, as we shall see in a later chapter, the master and usher of the Grammar School were petitioning for an increase in their stipends.<sup>39</sup> The Corporation's chance came as an outcome of the Statute of Charitable Uses (1603); the law was slow, but

by 1609 Sir George Snigge and two other commissioners were holding an inquisition under Chancery to investigate the affairs of the Grammar School and its lands.<sup>40</sup>

The proceedings went against Alice Pykes. A jury consisting mainly of councillors—a more responsible set than their predecessors of half-a-century before—condemned Nicholas II's activities in round terms, accused him of making away with relevant records, and declared that Alice Pykes and her deceased husband John had held their lands “to the defrauding of the true intention of employment of the said lands.” The commissioners' decree which followed declared that the lands should “be returned to the said true first use and intent of employment thereof, that such said schoolmaster, ushers and instructors of the said children and youths may hereafter live of the profits and revenues of the said lands, which now they cannot do.” Things looked bad for Alice Pykes. But she retaliated by filing a suit against the Corporation in Chancery. She was clearly a formidable antagonist; and a compromise—which was for practical reasons desirable to both sides—was arranged in 1610. “The poor widow,” as she depicted herself, was to retain the lands, paying a rent of £40 per annum plus the cost of repairs, estimated at £1 6s. 8d. One of the factors in her favour, specifically mentioned in the decree, was “her great charge having seven daughters to provide for.” The losers under this arrangement, it is worth noting, were not the Corporation but the schoolmaster and the usher: under the Chancery decree of 1609 they were to get £40 and £20 per annum respectively, whereas under this one the figures came down to £26 13s. 4d. and £13 6s. 8d.<sup>41</sup>

Alice Pykes was far from beaten, and in the years after 1610 she went on disposing of the lands, granting many new leases in return for large fines and small quit-rents. The Corporation, naturally enough, was anxious to recover as many of the lands as possible, and in 1616 offered her son, Nicholas Pykes, £500 in final settlement. This was refused: but in the next year, 1617, the story closed, when Alice Pykes handed over all the rights she still held in the Bartholomew property to four trustees acting on behalf of the Corporation. Stubborn to the end, she made them pay £650.<sup>42</sup>

From September of this year the accounts of the Bartholomew

lands were kept for the Corporation by a separate bailiff in a separate minute book. Four years later, in 1621, the two surviving trustees, as we have noted, finally conveyed the Bartholomew lands, or what remained of them, to the Corporation.<sup>43</sup> The vigorous selfishness of two later members of the Thorne clan, aided by the neglect or worse of the Corporation, had deprived the School of many of its rights in a handsome endowment. How great the loss was, no one can calculate. The lands were extensive and widely distributed in and near the present extent of the city of Bristol,<sup>44</sup> so that the passage of time and the expansion of the city have enormously increased their value. No doubt many of them would in any event have been disposed of in the course of four centuries. That does not make their loss at the hands of Nicholas Thorne II and Alice Pykes any the less a matter for permanent regret.

## Chapter II

### THE SCHOOL AT THE BARTHOLOMEWS

THOSE boys of Bristol Grammar School who made their daily way through the arch of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Elizabethan or Jacobean times no doubt knew little and cared less about the devious courses of Nicholas Thorne II and the anxious litigation inspired by Alice Pykes. Their interests went, or were directed, elsewhere—to their games and to the oddities of their teachers, to Lily's *Latin Grammar* and to "three or four jerks with a berch, or with a small red willow where birch cannot be had,"<sup>45</sup> to the ships that rode at anchor in the Frome a stone's throw away, and their cargoes and the tales of their sailors, to exciting events in the wider world like the defeat of the Armada and the discovery of Gunpowder Plot, to the sudden terror of the epidemics that killed by the hundred in the dirty, ill-drained and close-packed quarters of the old city. We can, if we guess imaginatively, will ourselves back for a few moments into the life of a schoolboy of that time, "creeping like snail unwillingly to school" or forgetting our declensions with William Page. And, so far as Bristol Grammar School is concerned, we can fortify our imagination with one actual episode which must have made a lasting impression on the minds of those who saw it.

In 1574 Queen Elizabeth, on one of those royal progresses which served at once as holiday and as propaganda, came to Bristol. The progresses, slow, stately yet oddly informal, were great occasions evoking elaborate preparations by the civic authorities in the towns she visited.<sup>46</sup> It was natural enough for the boys of grammar schools to join in the welcome; patriotism ran high in Gloriana's England, the Queen herself was a great bluestocking and a patroness of learning, and, besides, there was the prospect of a holiday.

So in 1574 when Elizabeth passed through the St. John's Gate of Bristol she listened to a Grammar School boy who represented "Salutacion" declaiming eighteen verses of poetry in her praise.

Then she went along Christmas Street, where outside the School a raised platform had been constructed. The boys sang to her, and one of their number as "Gratulacion" recited a further twenty verses. The street outside the Frome Gate was crammed with people, and we are told how the tall feathers in the hats of the courtiers almost touched the feet of the boys assembled on the platform. There were more verses awaiting the Queen—eight of them, to be spoken by "Obedient Goodwill." But it appears that even Elizabeth's thirst for learning, or at any rate for verse, was satiated, and "Obedient Goodwill's" symbolic virtue was put to the test of reality: his verses were not spoken.<sup>47</sup> This royal occasion was an isolated and dramatic event about which we happen to have a little detailed knowledge.

The Grammar School spent over 230 years at the Bartholomews—more than half its recorded history since the Charter. Of the building of Robert Thorne's day little remains, except a mutilated statue and a fine Early English arch which formed part of the gateway, something of the narrow, dark, entrance passage, and a few pieces of carving. We can still get a vivid impression of the site of the School, set in what was almost a canyon and looking up to the huddled houses at the top of Christmas Steps. But much tearing down and building up has gone on there during 400 years, not least in the last hundred of them. As a water-colour of 1820 shows, the buildings still possessed at that date both dignity and a Jacobean elegance which had been preserved and even embellished in the reconstruction we know to have taken place in the eighteenth century. Since their academic career ended in 1847, the premises have served as model lodging-houses, boot-factory, sweet-factory, furniture-factory, and printing-works; and to-day, where the open courtyard of the School once was, there reverberates the rhythmic clatter of power-driven presses.

Our knowledge of the whole epoch at the Bartholomews is fragmentary and slight, exasperatingly so on the two points about which we should most welcome detailed information—the daily life of the boys at the School, and the relation of the School to its local environment and to the social change of this long and important period in English history. Apart from the successive

crises in the tussle over the Bartholomews estates during the ninety years after 1532, landmarks in the story are few; and most of those that we have are significant not because of their intrinsic importance but simply because we happen to have them at all. The masters of this long period undoubtedly included several distinguished men, but almost without exception they remain shadowy figures, rarely coming to life as individuals. We may be certain that each generation of the School's old boys contributed much to the life of Bristol—defending it, maybe, against Prince Rupert in the Civil War, or wondering uneasily whether to come out for Monmouth in 1685; shipping tobacco from Virginia or slaves to the West Indies. But we know very few of their names, and of the careers of the handful whom we can identify we know only scraps of detail. Like the Bartholomews building itself, the School registers of these years have gone, and they have left even less trace of their existence.

Much the most important single piece of documentary evidence about this period is the set of School Ordinances dated 16th February, 1666, to be found in the Proceedings of the Common Council of the City of Bristol,<sup>48</sup> and ordered to "be publickly and distinctly read in the School once in every quarter of the year and be fairly wrote and set up in the said School." It is hard to believe that there were no previous ones, but no earlier set exists now, nor did it exist in 1828, when the governors called the Ordinances of 1666 "the earliest document among their records relating to the government" of the School.<sup>49</sup> They provided the framework of the School's daily life until control passed from the Corporation to the Municipal Trustees in 1836, being re-issued in 1745 and again in 1812, on each occasion with comparatively minor alterations.<sup>50</sup> Comprehensive in aim, these "Ordinances and rules for and concerning as well the honest qualities manners and learning and also the election, admission, expulsion, displacing as all other things whatsoever concerning the rule and government of the School Masters and Scholars of the Free Grammar School in Bristol" contrive, like a modern school prospectus, to leave unsaid most of those important things about the spirit of the School which we should like to know. But that is inevitable: and we can learn enough from the letter of the School's laws to infer that it was at the time of these

Ordinances a typical seventeenth-century grammar school—Anglican in government and classical in curriculum, strict in its discipline and long in its hours of work.

The first group of Ordinances concerns the Master and his assistant, the usher. The "Head School Master" was, at the time of his election, to be "a Master of Arts of two years' standing well learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, sober and qualified in all points according to the Laws of this kingdom and well affected to kingly government." The requirement of Hebrew is a reminder of the vigour of theological controversy in the middle of the seventeenth century, while the emphasis on "kingship government" reflects the mood of the Restoration: the emphasis may well have been more than a formality, for Bristol, if not republican, had been parliamentarian in the Civil War and was a stronghold of Quakerism and other forms of dissent in the 1660s. The usher was not expected to be a Hebrew scholar and he had only to be a Bachelor of Arts of two years' standing: in other respects his qualifications were to be the same as those of the Master. In practice no doubt both would have to take an oath of loyalty to the Crown and to receive the sacrament according to the Anglican rites, as their predecessors had done both in the dangerous days of Queen Elizabeth and under James I's Canons of 1604.<sup>51</sup> and in these very years after 1660 the Clarendon Code was in operation, with its religious tests and its ingenious attempt to extirpate the Puritan sects by driving dissenting schoolmasters from the corporate towns. There was no religious liberty for teachers under the Restoration reaction, and it is possible, though unproven, that two changes of staff at the Grammar School at this time were the result of persecution. In 1662 John Stephens resigned the Mastership: he had been appointed in 1657 during the Protectorate and was therefore presumably a Puritan, and it is possible that he was dismissed for the same reason in the year of the Act of Uniformity: possible, though far from certain, for the minutes of that council meeting which appointed Stephens's successor specifically record the dismissal of the Master of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital for failure to accept the Act, but make no mention of such omission by Stephens.<sup>52</sup> Three years later, in 1665, the year of the Five Mile Act, John Miller ceased to be usher: here, however, the possibility

that he was a dissenter is small, for he had been appointed only in 1662, when his religious opinions would have been thoroughly tested.<sup>53</sup>

Religious beliefs apart, the Master and usher had a limited security of tenure. An Ordinance headed "Not to be put out without cause" says—

The Schoolmasters being chosen and allowed shall enjoy their places so long as they behave themselves well therein, and not to be put out of the same, but upon misbehaviours as wilful breach of these Orders worthy of such displacing in the judgment of the Governors for the time being, or for often or wilful absence from the School in the time of teaching, and for smaller faults worthy of Admonition to be admonished thrice by the Mayor, Aldermen and Overseers of the same School for the time being and if after those three admonitions no amendment follow then they are to be displaced by the said Governors for the time being and others to be chosen in their rooms according to this order.

In general this was fair enough, but "misbehaviours" is scarcely a precise word, and troubles at which we can guess with some confidence were to cause an interesting attempt to interpret it more fully in 1745. For the rest, the Ordinances provided that a Schoolmaster or usher incapacitated "by great age, sickness or imbecility" might appoint a substitute at half his wages, to be approved by the Governors; limited the holidays of the staff—as well as those of the boys—to the feasts of Nativity, Easter and Whitsuntide; and decreed that on the death or departure of a Master or usher, his wife and family—who lived on the Bartholomews premises—should "depart thence quietly within the space of one quarter of a year next ensuing such death and departure."

The Ordinances about the scholars are somewhat more informative. They throw light, for example, on the admission of pupils. Every scholar who was "the Son of a Burgess and Freeman of this City dwelling within this City and lawfully Baptized" was to be admitted on the payment of five shillings, half of which went to the Master and half to the usher. Scholars who were not the sons of freemen "and consequently not to

enjoy the privileges of this the Grammar School" might be admitted "paying for the teaching such Rates as the Master and Parents of such Children shall agree for and not otherwise." The only other payments made by scholars were twopence per quarter for sweeping and "twelve pence for fire every winter," out of which the Master was to provide a fire "in the Back Kitchen."

The five shillings admission fee for free scholars takes us back to Nicholas Thorne II and to the sole occasion on which we may credit that ingenious knave with any direct concern for the educational activities of the family foundation. In the deed poll which he concluded with the Corporation on 1st July, 1561, it was provided that the Master and usher and their successors should "contynuallie" teach grammar within the School "to all childrene and others that will repayre to the said schole for lerning and knowledge of the laten tongue and other good lerning, for the better education and bringing up of youthe in lerning and virtue, and that frelie without any .thing to be taken other than four pence onlie for the first admission of every scholer into the same schole."<sup>54</sup> Now, a century later, the fourpence has become five shillings. The increase was in part at least a measure of the great price revolution which overtook Europe during those hundred years—although the stipends of the School staff were not multiplied fifteen-fold over the same period.

The provision in the Ordinances for children outside the families of freemen is of some interest. Neither the Charter nor the other sixteenth-century documents about the School contain any provision or hint that it was not to be open freely to all children in the city of Bristol. But we know that many grammar schools tended in practice to close their doors against all but the sons of the upper and middle classes; as early as 1541 Archbishop Cranmer uttered his famous protest against excluding the poor, saying "if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt, enter his room,"<sup>55</sup> and similar warnings followed in the Commons and elsewhere later in the century.<sup>56</sup> Some sort of narrowing of the field of entry, which was certainly illegal and presumably deliberate, appears to have happened at Bristol. For we find that when a new master was being appointed in 1622, he was expressly prohibited from having more than twelve scholars "that

shall be strangers and not freemen's sons," in order that "freemen's sons of the city may be preferred and be better instructed according to the true intent and meaning of the founder of the School."<sup>57</sup> The context makes it clear some of these twelve would be boarders, taken no doubt in order to enable the master to make ends meet and the Corporation to evade paying him a higher stipend: his successor was allowed twenty "forrain scholars," ten of whom "he may table at once and no more."<sup>58</sup> The underlying assumption is evident—that Robert Thorne had intended his Grammar School to be, in the first place, a school for the sons of Bristol freemen; and the Corporation in the Ordinances of 1666 made this explicit and, so far as they could, legal. It was an undesirable development, and it would, in the later eighteenth century, become suicidal. But it was a natural process in that age in an English city increasingly dominated by an oligarchy of wealthy merchants, and it was typical of the trend of the grammar schools, which were becoming the preserve of the upper and middle classes. In Bristol, however, it must be added that there is some eighteenth-century evidence which suggests that the door was not entirely closed against the poorer citizens.\*

Several of the Ordinances regulated terms and holidays, the length of the school day, and what were called the "Scholars' day of play" and the "Writing Days." The school terms revolved round the great festivals of the Church. They began "after the feast of the Nativity, the next working day after the Epiphany if the same do fall upon Monday; if not, the next Monday after the Epiphany"; after Easter, the Monday after Low Sunday; and after Whitsuntide, the Monday after Trinity Sunday. They ended five days before Christmas and three days before Easter and before Whitsuntide. This meant an average of some six weeks' holidays a year, of which about half fell at Christmastime—an arrangement which would scarcely commend itself, either in total length or in distribution, to later generations. Nor did long terms imply short days at school. From 1st April "the scholars shall come to school at 6 of the clock in the morning": from 1st September to 1st November, and from 2nd February to 1st April they were to arrive at seven: only in the dark mornings of the three winter months from 1st November

\* Below, p. 48.

to 2nd February were they permitted the relative luxury of an eight o'clock start. The rule about the end of the school day was simple, and almost brusque in style: "the going of scholars from School to dinner shall be ever at eleven of the Clock and their coming to School after Dinner at one of the Clock; in the summer they shall depart at five of the Clock, in the winter half an hour after four if the day light will serve thereunto to abide so long."

About "play days" there was evidently a considerable element of chance, for the rules decreed that "no play day shall be granted to the Scholars but Thursdays and Saturdays in the afternoon for writing and all those days appointed by the Church Rules if it be with leave of the Mayor for the time being and two Overseers of the School at the least, provided that no play days be granted upon Fridays." A separate rule provided, under the heading of "Writing Days," that "no Scholar shall go to the writing School but Thursdays in the afternoon and Saturdays in the afternoon." The combined effect of these two somewhat obscure rules seems to suggest special days for writing which only Masters or ushers of great strength of will would refrain from using as a species of detention.

Absence without leave naturally called for a special rule. No scholars were permitted to be absent "without their parents' consent signified to the Master under their hands," except—and it is an interesting exception—"the two first days of St. Paul's fair and the four first days of St. James's fair": presumably large-scale truancy was inevitable on these attractive occasions and it was wiser to legalize it. If a boy was absent three days "and not sick having not the leave of Master or usher" he was not permitted to return "without composition with the Master as at the first admission." This was most reasonable, and might indeed be cheap at the price. But there were more powerful sanctions, even if we leave out of reckoning the birch, which the rules do not mention because there was no need to do so; every parent and boy accepted it as a normal part of the educational process. There was an ominous rule headed "Expulsion of Scholars" and reading—

If any Scholar after his admission be stubborn or obstinate concerning any Order touching the said School, then in every

such case every such Scholar shall and with the consent of the Governors be expulsed out of the School for ever; unless his Friends the second time will undertake for his obedience to the Schoolmaster and good behaviour again in all things, paying for his Admission again as at the first entrance, and if after he shall fall into such unruliness he shall by such consent be expulsed for ever.

Except on one point, the Ordinances unfortunately make no direct reference to the curriculum. Like the birch, the study of the classical languages was a staple of grammar-school education throughout this period, with Lily's *Latin Grammar* as a text book imposed both by general custom and by legislative enactment.<sup>59</sup> Both the specific reference to "lerning and knowledge of the laten tongue" in Nicholas Thorne II's deed poll of 1561 and the qualifications in Latin and Greek required of the Master and usher indicate that Bristol Grammar School was orthodox in this matter, and the only direct reference in the Ordinances is additional proof. This is a rule which instructs the Master and usher to catechize their scholars on Saturday mornings "making use of Nowell's Catechism (Latin and Greek) in the Upper School and the Church Catechism in Latin for those of capacity and in English for the rest of the Lower School." It is clear that here as elsewhere the classical languages were the principal subjects of study and that Latin was the medium of instruction for all except those youngest boys who had not yet mastered it.

Finally the Ordinances, like the foundation deeds of the 1530s, recognize that the School, if not an ecclesiastical establishment, is none the less bound to fulfil a religious purpose. In this Protestant age there are no obits, for the prayers for the souls of Lord la Warre and other founders and benefactors have gone with the papal supremacy, or at any rate soon after it. Instead there is a cautious provision that "prayers shall be performed in a set form both morning and evening having a Chapter read by one of the Scholars in their turns." The ancient rites of Rome had long since vanished from the chapel of the Bartholomews; presumably for some years before the Restoration the scholars had heard the extempore prayers of Puritan preachers; now, it would seem, the "set form" of orthodox Anglicanism had

returned. Another ordinance decreed "that every Parent or Householder within this City or Suburb tabling any Scholar shall cause and see all such their Children or Tablers to resort to Church every Lord's Day morning and evening at the Public Worship, and the Scholars of the Upper School and the rest of such as can write shall bring the Notes of the Sermon Monday morning and such as cannot write giving some other Account thereof to the Masters respectively." Perhaps more effectively than any other detail in the entire set of Ordinances, the second half of this rule indicates the difference which the passage of three centuries has made in the mind of the average man—and the average boy. And sermons, it must be remembered, lasted many more than ten minutes in the middle of the seventeenth century, and demanded from their hearers a substantial store of Biblical erudition.

Nearly eighty years later, in 1745, the Corporation revised the Grammar School Ordinances. Times had changed for the better. The upheaval of the Civil War was now a romantic memory and Bristol was far more prosperous, as the buildings which have survived from the middle of the eighteenth century bear witness. The School itself seems to have been enjoying a welcome period of success,\* and to a Corporation which had no interest in reform for reform's sake there was little temptation to make notable alterations in its rules of government. Nor indeed were they in a hurry to inquire into them. In 1738 the Corporation set up a committee to revise its book of orders, but not until 1744 did this committee begin to make its report.<sup>60</sup> Among its observations was a suggestion "that the several ordinances and rules touching the Rule and Government of the masters and scholars of the Free Grammar School ought to be placed together and inforced by directions for that purpose," and from this there followed what was in effect a restatement of the Ordinances of 1666, modified in a few details.

The two changes which doubtless interested the boys most concerned the length of the school day and half holidays. The six o'clock start in the summer was abolished: instead, school was to begin at seven o'clock from 1st March to 1st November and at eight o'clock in the remaining four months. A further

\* See below, pp. 40 to 42.

slight relaxation was the addition of Tuesday to the days of play—and to the writing days. These new provisions were the marks of a somewhat more humane age, or at least of what the older generation of the time no doubt called a lazier age. It was certainly a more secular and more tolerant one, as other provisions of the 1745 Ordinances indicate. The rule about "What Scholars shall be Admitted" no longer included the requirement that all candidates should be "lawfully baptized," but insisted instead that they should be "able to read English perfectly." The boys had still on Monday mornings to give an account of the Sunday sermons, but these might now be nonconformist addresses, for parents were ordered to see that their sons went to Church "or other publick place of worship allowed by law." The School had ceased to be an Anglican preserve: the presence of a large nonconformist population, and possibly the competition of dissenting academies, such as that maintained by the Baptists in Bristol after 1720, had encouraged tolerance.<sup>61</sup>

A similar relaxation of religious orthodoxy appears in the qualifications expected of the Master. Not only could he now be a Bachelor of Laws or Physick instead of a Master of Arts; he and the usher had no longer to be "well affected" to "kingly government," but merely "to the Constitution in Church and State." The perils of republicanism were a thing of the past, and prospective headmasters like everyone else had accepted the Glorious Revolution. A more immediate peril was the readiness of the ill-paid masters and ushers to accept other employment, notably Church livings, while continuing to teach;\* and this was now forbidden in the Ordinances. But the most interesting change affecting the staff concerned their private conduct rather than their public politics or their search for extra pay. The rule headed "Not to be put out without cause" received an important addition. The schoolmasters were, as before, to keep their posts during good behaviour: but henceforward they should

not be put out of the same on light surmise or malicious quarrelling, but upon some lewd behaviour or some wicked lewd crime, as wilful breach of some of these orders worthy of such displacing, and for often and wilful absence from the

\* See below, pp. 36 to 38, for some examples of this.

School in the time of teaching, or if they be common gamesters, common haunters of taverns or alehouses or other suspected houses or places of evil rule, wilful perjury, or other odious crimes.

It reads like a rule based upon experience. The Masters of the early eighteenth century were men of integrity, not addicted to "lewd behaviour" or "odious crimes." We cannot, unfortunately, be so confident about the ushers, and at least one of those of this period left under a cloud.\*

In all ages and conditions teaching is primarily an intimate and personal process, and the quality of a school hangs on the qualities of its teachers. By a tradition, for which Shakespeare is at least partly responsible, the English schoolmaster of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is depicted as brutal, ignorant, and idle. It is certain that he had ample excuse for brutality, ignorance, and idleness. However keen the stimulus which the Renaissance and Reformation gave to English intellectual life and to the creation of grammar schools, the ultimate impact of these movements on education was in some ways deplorable. As a former Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School has pointed out, they not only condemned the schools to a century and a half of intolerant Anglicanism, but also imposed upon generations of boys a rigid and inappropriate classical curriculum and tintured English education with a self-seeking individualism.<sup>62</sup> It may be possible to look back on the days when Shakespeare and Oliver Cromwell and Milton sat on the benches of the grammar schools as a kind of golden age in English education. But the evidence is far from convincing, and certainly few contemporary schoolmasters would have accepted this view. Their daily work was a burden from which all but the sternest martinet among their twentieth-century successors would have recoiled—the drilling of boys, many of them very young and most of them with little aptitude, in the classics for anything up to eight hours a day on six days a week for all but about six weeks in the year, with few books and fewer "aids" to teaching, in cramped conditions and often in buildings that would appal even the most

\* See below, p. 38.

economically-minded of modern education committees. It is scarcely surprising that nearly all of them took to the birch—and some of them to drink; or that the general standard of entrants to the teaching profession appears to have been low.

It is impossible to say with any precision what the quality of Masters and ushers at Bristol Grammar School was, at any rate during the first century and a half at the Bartholomews, for we have not enough direct evidence about them as individuals.<sup>63</sup> But there is one factor which was assuredly of prime importance in determining their general quality and about which we do know a good deal—their stipends. The Indenture of Covenant between Robert Thorne II and Lord de la Warr in 1532 had declared that Robert was to "provide, establish and order a schoolmaster and usher to teach and keep the said free school, with such convenient wage to be appointed as shall or may conveniently come of the rents, issues and profits of the said lands,"<sup>64</sup> and fourteen years later Nicholas Thorne I, as we have seen, remembered his schoolmaster in his will, hoping that if the Bartholomews lands yielded greater revenues it would be possible to increase his stipend to "£20 by the year."<sup>65</sup> We may suppose that this wish would quickly have been fulfilled had the lands been conveyed entire to the Corporation. In fact, if we may judge from intermittent entries in the Mayor's Audit Books, the rate of payment fluctuated, at an average level probably below £20 for the Master and below £10 for the usher, until 1566-7. Thereafter until at least 1601-2 the Master got £20 and the usher £10 per annum, thus absorbing between them the entire £30 rental payable by Nicholas Thorne II under his successful bargain of 1561—a circumstance which naturally made the Corporation unwilling to offer a higher stipend.<sup>66</sup>

It seems probable that the Master's stipend of £20 was at this time above rather than below the general level paid in similar schools. A calculation which has been carried out for some seventy-nine schools during Elizabeth's reign gives an average stipend of £16 10s. od.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless it was not enough to live on in face of that rapid and steep rise in prices which was one of the dominating factors of English and European history at this time, and in February 1600-1 we find the Corporation appointing Alderman John Whitson and three others as a committee "to

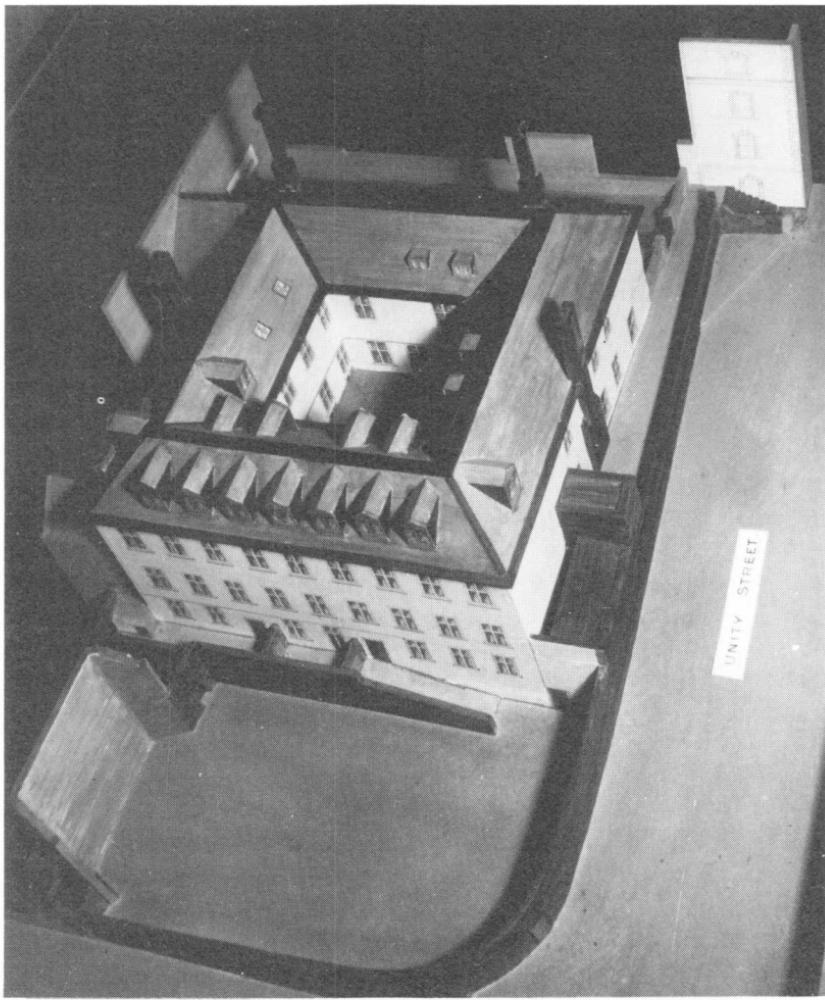


Photograph by Roger Gilmour

PLATE III. THE SWIFT MEMORIAL

William Swift was Headmaster from 1600 to 1622.

*From the Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol*



*Photograph by Roger Gilmour*

**PLATE IV. THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN UNITY STREET**

The site of the School from 1767 to 1879.

*From a model of the buildings*

consider of the Master and Usher of the Free Grammar School's petition touching the raising of their stipends."<sup>68</sup> The result seems to have been a short-lived bonus of 10 marks ( $\text{£}6 13s. 4d.$ ) for the Master and 5 marks ( $\text{£}3 6s. 8d.$ ) for the usher, half of which came from Robert Kitchen's charitable fund and half from the Corporation's own moneys.<sup>69</sup> Before long the whole question of stipends became involved in the litigation with Alice Pykes. As we have seen, a Chancery Commission of 1609 raised the Master's hopes by ordering "that the schoolmaster should have yearly the yearly wages of  $\text{£}40$  and the usher or ushers  $\text{£}20$ , which wages will be raised out of the said lands," but Lord Chancellor Ellesmere's decree of the following year brought them down again by fixing 40 marks and 20 marks respectively.<sup>70</sup>

There they remained for some years, during which Masters evidently added to their income by receiving "tablers" or boarders; each of the two Masters appointed in 1622 was, as we have noticed, given specific but limited permission to do this. But this was an unsatisfactory remedy, and the price level was still rising. Probably the Masters' importunity and the happy chance of a legacy, as well as the councillors' reflections on the unwisdom of admitting too many boarders, contributed to a further step in 1629: yet the occasion of this step was certainly the curious case of George Harrison the usher.<sup>71</sup> Harrison was clearly an unsatisfactory person. He had been appointed only the previous year, but already, it appeared, there were complaints of his "misdemeanours" as well as of "his neglect and insufficient training up and instructing such boys and youths as have been committed to his charge and care—to the great disgrace of the city." It is not surprising that on 23rd June he was "utterly discharged and dismissed." But the Corporation, either because they had a conscience about a professional man who had to maintain a wife and family on 20 marks a year, or because he was such a bad lot that they wanted to be rid of him at almost any price, treated him with extraordinary generosity. Not only did they refund him  $\text{£}17 2s. 11d.$  which he claimed he had spent on "divers implements reparations and other things—yet in the school"; they paid him the handsome sum of  $\text{£}50$  to enable him to re-settle elsewhere.

Further, they turned at once to a considerable improvement of the stipends. Observing that the levels fixed by Lord Ellesmere's Decree (1610) were "too mean and not sufficient for their (the Masters') maintenance in a competent and meet manner," they raised them to £40 for the Master and £30 for the usher "out of the issues and profits of the said lands and such other monies or benefit or gifts as are or shall be given and bestowed on the said school." Such a gift had in fact just been made, in 1628; under the will of George Nethway, a Bristol merchant, £50 had been left for the augmentation of the stipends of the Master and usher of the Grammar School, and for many years the interest on this sum or an equivalent was applied to that purpose.<sup>72</sup> "Nethway's hat money," as this gift was for some obscure reason called, meant only a relatively small increment to the stipend. Nor was the Corporation's total addition of 1629 of much permanent worth. The troubled times of the Civil War and Commonwealth soon extinguished its real value, and in December, 1657, the stipend of the Master was increased to £60 per annum.<sup>73</sup> This too was evidently no solution, for from this date until almost the end of the century we shall find that Masters were pluralists, holding one or more city livings simultaneously with their post at the School. Thus 150 years after Thorne's Charter his hope of a "convenient wage" for his schoolmaster remained unfulfilled.

This prolonged inadequacy of stipend cannot have been without its effect on the School, but it is an effect peculiarly hard to measure. For ninety years Thomas Moffatt's successors in the Mastership are little more than names culled from the Audit Books, and the ushers are obscurer still.<sup>74</sup> Our list is probably incomplete. There is reason, as we have suggested to suppose that Moffat retired or resigned somewhere about 1542, and that his successor was the John Harris of Nicholas Thorne I's will. After 1561 the Corporation paid the Masters' stipends, and presumably appointed them: three schoolmasters, Dyconson, Style, and Turner, appear in the accounts for the 1560s, and three more, Dunne, White, and Alexander Woodsonne, between then and the end of the century. The ushers of the same period include John Sergeant, Richard Dyer, "Master Williams," Blundell and another Williams. Not until the beginning of the

seventeenth century does a Master emerge a little from obscurity, and then he does so by way of his epitaph. From 1600 until his death in 1622 William Swift, a Gloucestershire boy who matriculated at Christ Church in 1585, was Master. He lives to-day through the medium of a charming Jacobean memorial which his wife caused to be placed in the Lord Mayor's Chapel at Bristol. In neat and decorous Latin this describes him as a man "spectatissimae probitatis" and "in omni literarum genere exercitatissimi," and continues "suo tam feliciter incubuit officio ut, licet natura nullam industria tamen numerosam et sibi et academiae et reipublicae prolem generaret."

The Corporation sent its Chamberlain to Oxford to find a successor to Swift in 1622. The visit cost them £4 5s. 5d. and its outcome was scarcely happy. At the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor they chose a Mr. Payne (probably Richard Payne who matriculated at New College in 1608). He arrived and was appointed in June, 1622, at a stipend of 40 marks, with permission to take up to twelve boys as boarders. But he disliked the stipend, or the school, or the city—for he departed in August. The Corporation paid him five pounds, and then appointed Richard Cheynie of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, who held the living of Tarrant Rushton in Dorset. He held office until his death in 1636: and one of the ushers of his time was the disreputable George Harrison.

Then followed a short spell of staff troubles, which may well have been connected with the contemporary religious discontents. Harrison's successor, James Walsh of Mangotsfield, was removed in February, 1638-9, "for abuses by him in the disparagement of the School and retarding the boys' learning." Henry James, a Bristolian who matriculated at Trinity College, was appointed Master in 1636. He stayed only three years, and his successor, Bartholomew Man, who had been nominated by the High Steward of the Borough, the Earl of Pembroke, remained only four. The Corporation removed him in 1642-3: it seems likely, in view of his patronage, that he was a Royalist. He made way for a person who was obviously acceptable to the Corporation, Walter Rainsthorp, the son of a free burgess, who held office throughout the Civil Wars and the Cromwellian supremacy, dying six months before Oliver himself. Unfortunately

we know nothing of what happened to the School and its scholars during the war and, in particular, during Rupert's siege of Bristol; but Rainsthorp was clearly a man of dexterity or of character to retain his post through the swift changes of these years. The council thought highly of him, for on his death in March, 1657-8, they paid a quite unusual tribute to him in their minutes, declaring him to have been "exceeding faithful, diligent and able in his place," and—in Puritan phrase—"one whom God made especially instrumental in the educating, teaching, and bringing up of youth within this city." Moreover, they awarded a pension of £10 per annum to his widow to help maintain herself and her six children.<sup>75</sup>

Rainsthorp's successor was the John Stephens who left in 1662. Sheer favouritism may have had something to do with his departure. In 1658 the Corporation had appointed as usher William Ball; he was technically unqualified for the post since he was not yet a Bachelor of Arts, but he had most excellent testimonials, for he was recommended both by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and by "Mr. Paul the minister, being well satisfied as to (his) abilities and qualifications."<sup>76</sup> So well did they like him that they gave him £10 a year additional salary. The Restoration, a little surprisingly, did not damage Mr. Ball's career, for in 1662 he was promoted to the Mastership, which he held until 1670. We know little of Ball, a Wadham man, except as a careerist, but his death in that year may be regarded as something of a turning point in the School's history, for there followed thirty years of difficulty and decline, with complaints in the council chamber about the state of the School. We find Masters who were pluralists and ushers who were obviously third-rate men. The immediate cause of the decline was certainly the inadequate stipends offered by the Corporation. But there was nothing new about this, and it is not easy to acquit the Corporation of slackness in their management of the School. The root of the trouble doubtless lay in contemporary events—in the political disturbances of the 1680s, in the recurrent economic crises which afflicted the cloth industry of the west, and in the interference with overseas trade caused by the French wars.

On Ball's death, Rowland Tucker the usher acted as temporary

Master until the appointment (December, 1670) of John Rainsthorp. Probably the son of the successful Walter, an old boy of the School, and a member of St. John's College, Oxford, Rainsthorp turned to pluralism in 1677 when he became Rector of St. Michael's, Bristol, and in 1686 he was appointed Vicar of All Saints. The effect on the School was immediate and bad. He survived one crisis in 1681, when there were complaints of the decline of the School "owing to the inability and insufficiency of Mr. Tucker, the usher, by reason of age and other infirmities."<sup>77</sup> Tucker was pensioned off, and replaced by Thomas Stump, who seems to have been little better, for in 1686 "it being moved in the house that the Grammar School is neglected both by the Master and usher," the Corporation decided to investigate.<sup>78</sup> The result was the resignation of Rainsthorp in 1687: Stump survived three years longer. With a strange blindness, the Corporation proceeded to appoint as Master William Stephens, who already held a city living, and who resigned his School post after only two years. So in 1689 the Corporation made it a condition of the appointment of the next Master, Thomas Wotton, "that he take no parochial cure upon him to divert him from his attendance upon the said school."<sup>79</sup> Similarly, Edmund Estcourt—doubtless a member of the old-established Tetbury family of that name—who was appointed usher in 1694–5, after six months on probation, was warned against the "acceptance of an ecclesiastical benefice with cure of souls."<sup>80</sup> None the less it was not long before Wotton had accepted the city living of St. Augustine's.

The last years of the century appear to have begun a recovery in the School's affairs. When Wotton's successor, Robert Welstead, was appointed in 1697, the Council decreed that "the person which now and hereafter shall be so elected shall not at any time after his being so elected take upon him receive or exercise any Cure or employment either Ecclesiasticall or Civil."<sup>81</sup> They reiterated that Ordinance of 1666 which stated "that Mr. Mayor, the Aldermen and House or any three of them have liberty by themselves or by such learned and able persons as they think fit privately to visit the School twice in every year at least over and besides the public visitation." This time they maintained their ban on pluralism. Further, they set out to improve the buildings, spending over £100 on repairs in 1699–1700: and

they reached an agreement with Balliol College, Oxford, about the sending of exhibitioners from the Grammar School to that College.\*

These were steps which augured well for the future. Yet the problem of the ushers defied solution, it seemed. Between the departure of Stump in 1690 and the appointment of Walter Rainstock in 1708 there were six, all of them, as the Victoria County History says, "very fleeting birds." The worst of what appears to have been a poor lot was William Radford. In 1704 the Corporation, observing "what great consequence it was that the youth going to the Grammar School should be well instructed in learning and principles of virtuous religion," made—a trifle optimistically, one feels—new additional orders for the appointment of an usher.<sup>82</sup> He was to "be subordinate to the Master and follow his Direction and Orders in the Discipline of the Schoole: but in case he finds any Mischief or Inconvenience in such Order and Directions he may apply to Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen." It sounds as though there had been trouble between the reigning Master (Edward Pearce, 1702-9) and his usher, John Deane, who had just resigned. Deane's successor was William Radford, appointed on probation. In 1706 there was a complaint in council that he "had misbehaved himself in his office," and a very strong committee, consisting of the Mayor, the Aldermen, two Sheriffs and any other member of the house who chose to attend, was appointed to investigate Radford's conduct.<sup>83</sup> They found him guilty and it was decided to dismiss him; "and that he may not be surprised notice of this order is forthwith directed to be given him."

The first half of the eighteenth century seems to have been one of the periods in which the Corporation took its responsibility for the School most seriously. The city, in these days of Edward Colston, was flourishing commercially, with the lively and progressive activity which Defoe describes,<sup>84</sup> and this prosperity was reflected in the councillors' interest in education. It was a successful period in the history of the Grammar School, although its development was at one time gravely jeopardized by an ecclesiastical dispute in which the Master was involved. Two

\* See below, pp. 47 to 48.

at least of the four Masters who held office between 1709 and 1764 were men of unusual intellectual distinction who, unlike their predecessors of the previous half century, were prepared to give their main energies to the service of the School. The revision of the Ordinances in 1745 was not at all a sign of alarm, but rather an expression of concern that the established well-being of the School should continue.

In 1709 William Goldwin became Master. A scholar of Eton and King's, he was one of the very rare exceptions to the custom, maintained for four centuries, of appointing Oxford men to the post. Goldwin was a divine of some eminence and literary ingenuity. Latimer says, somewhat acridly, that "believing himself a poet, he favoured the city with what he was pleased to call 'A Poetical Description of Bristol,'" and speaks of Goldwin's "lamentably prosaic" verse.<sup>85</sup> But he was unquestionably a successful Master in whose short tenure of office the School clearly prospered. When he resigned in 1717 he sent to the Corporation a brief report on the progress of the School which was recorded in the Council Proceedings.<sup>86</sup> This gives us the first reliable information we have about the number of boys in the School, and some indication of their careers after leaving. Under the title "The State of the Grammar School from 1710 to 1717," Goldwin says—

In 1710 I found 47 boys. Since that year to the present I have disposed of the youth as follows, viz.—

1716. N.B.—When our Bishop was pleased first to oppose the king's presentation, the School consisted of 81.

1717.—The present number is 56.

This statistical sample covers too limited a period and too small a number of boys to form a very sure basis of generalization; but it is not unlikely that the proportion of boys going to "shop trades, merchants and sea, and business unknown," some 77 per cent of the total, has been fairly characteristic of the School since Goldwin's day, provided we interpret widely the phrase "shop trades." The same is probably true of the proportion (between 7 and 8 per cent) going to universities, though not to Oxford alone. It is clear that the principal function of the School was to educate the future merchants and business men of the city, and that, a true "grammar" school, it sent a fair sprinkling of its sons to the university and to the professions.

Unfortunately Goldwin's period of office ended in an ecclesiastical breeze typical of the early eighteenth century. In 1716 he was presented to the Rectory of the city church of St. Nicholas, in succession to an incumbent who had been deprived for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Hanoverian Succession. The Bishop, Smalridge, and the Corporation clashed over the appointment; public opinion in the city was sharply divided, with high churchmen hotly opposed to Goldwin.<sup>87</sup> He got the living, but the controversy had a serious effect on the School, as the final passage of his report shows. He had seen the numbers rise from 47 to 81 in six years; but they dropped to 56 in 1717, and under Goldwin's successor, James Taylor, Master from 1717 to 1722, they fell to 20.

Rapid revival came with the next Master, Alexander Stopford Catcott, of Merchant Taylors School and St. John's College, Oxford, who held office from 1722 to 1743. A Bristol historian has described Catcott as "a good poet, profound linguist, well skilled in the Hebrew and Scripture philosophy, and a judicious schoolmaster";<sup>88</sup> and so well qualified a judge as John Wesley paid tribute to his eminent piety. In his younger days he is said to have "applied himself much to poetry," and in 1715 he published *The Poem of Musaeus on the Loves of Hero and Leander, paraphrased in English Heroick Verse*, which he dedicated to Lady

Mary Wortley Montague; but later he "turned his head more towards divinity and the languages." Whatever the merit of his verses, he was, like Goldwin, a man of energy as well as of literary gifts, and he quickly brought the School's numbers up from twenty to seventy. As early as November, 1723, the Corporation granted to him the £20 addition to the stipend which they had paid to Goldwin after 1711 but had discontinued to Taylor, speaking of the increase in the numbers as "an instance of his past industry and an earnest of his care."<sup>89</sup> It seems clear that the School continued to thrive. Catcott, who had a flair for publicity, issued in 1737 a pamphlet containing the exercises spoken by the boys at the annual visitation of the School by the Mayor and Aldermen, and in its preface he speaks with some self-satisfaction of his own achievement, saying—

I thought I had some reasons for giving satisfaction to your worships, and to the gentlemen and Burgesses, whose children are under my care, and also for doing justice to myself; in letting our city see, that the Trustees have committed the management of the School to one not incapable of performing his duty, and that the Burgesses may (if they please) reap the benefit intended them by the Founder.<sup>90</sup>

Catcott resigned in 1743 on accepting the city living of St. Stephen's, and handed on what was evidently a flourishing school to his successor, Samuel Seyer of Pembroke College, Oxford. Seyer, whose son was to become a local historian of note, did not at first receive the £20 additional stipend which had been given to Catcott;<sup>91</sup> but there is no reason to suppose that the School ceased to prosper under his mastership, and increased payment was eventually made to him in 1757.<sup>92</sup> The revision of the Ordinances in 1745 was a sign of the lively and active interest of the Corporation in the School; and towards the end of Seyer's time there is further evidence which points also to an increase in the number of boys. From 1757 onwards the Corporation spent considerable sums of money on the School buildings in what must have been an attempt to enlarge them and to make the confined quarters of the Bartholomews more appropriate to their use as a school.<sup>93</sup> After paying out £227 6s. 7d. in 1757, they appointed in the following July a committee to consider

what money should be advanced for the finishing of the Grammar School alterations. The committee's report was a drastic one, to the effect that it was necessary to take down and rebuild the entire premises; and the alterations were certainly very extensive indeed, involving an expenditure of over £2000 between 1758 and 1762. It is clear that when Seyer resigned on his appointment to the Rectory of St. Michael's in 1764 the School was installed in better buildings on the Bartholomews site than at any time since it had first gone there some two centuries before. Certainly there is no hint here of impending decline.

It is likely that the School reached its highest numbers at the Bartholomews during Seyer's time. By 1801 the population of the city had reached 40,000: it seems probable that Macaulay's estimate of 29,000 in 1685 was much too high and that the figure at the beginning of the eighteenth century could not have been more than 20,000.<sup>94</sup> This implies an increase of 100 per cent in the eighteenth century, and, even if we assume that the greater part of this occurred after rather than before 1750, it is obvious that the child population of the city was much greater at that date than in 1700; and we may reasonably infer, in view of the success of the School under Catcott and of the prosperity of Bristol in the middle years of the century, that the number of boys at the Grammar School rose, creating the need for the building development of the late 1750s. We have no exact figures, but we shall not be far wrong if we guess that there were upwards of one hundred boys at the Bartholomews at that time.

A quantitative estimate of the number of scholars is one thing: a qualitative measurement of the value of the education they received is quite another. We know little of the personalities and achievements of even the most distinguished of the School's old boys in this period. Nor did our convenient modern yardstick, that series of public examinations which is at once so disturbing and so comforting to governors and parents alike, exist in 1750. Over a century was to pass before English schoolboys had to face the School Certificate, and scholarships and exhibitions to the universities were still closed contests in which influence usually scored more points than intellectual attainment. Nevertheless, the Bristol Grammar School boys at the Bartholomews did not

go entirely unexamined from without. In Elizabethan times the Mayor and Corporation went in procession to the Bartholomews every 5th November, to hear the boys examined; this task over, they refreshed themselves in the refectory with "spiced rolls, ham, pickled oysters, anchovies, with port wine, Rack punch, and pipes of tobacco."<sup>95</sup> The educational, if not the convivial, part of this custom was formally embodied in the Ordinances of 1660.<sup>96</sup> The Mayor, Aldermen and members of the Corporation "as well for the encouragement of scholars as for the satisfaction of the surveyors of the School touching the proficiency of the Scholars" were to make an annual visitation to the School on the Thursday before Easter. On this occasion, it was decreed—

the chief schoolmaster shall provide and make choice of some of the best Scholars of the Upper School to declaim or perform some other exercise in those days in the presence of the Governors and Surveyors. And also the Usher shall do the like with some of the Scholars of the uppermost form, and then a premium or reward shall be given to that Scholar of such form which by the judgment of Examinators appointed to that purpose shall best deserve the same. The value of which premium or reward shall not exceed Ten shillings.

Catcott's pamphlet of 1737 throws some rather pompous light on the proceedings at this annual occasion.<sup>97</sup> His preface is eminently pedagogical in its defence of composition in the classical languages and in its plea that children should be sent to a grammar school at the earliest possible age.

Every one, who is at all acquainted with foreign languages, knows how much more difficult it is, to compose in them one's self, than to understand the compositions of another; and Masters of Schools (such I mean as deserve that name) find it the hardest part both of their own and the children's task, to make their scholars write in a tolerable style. When a boy can do this, he gives a certain proof of his knowledge in the languages, which he pretends to understand; whereas all other feats may be fallacious—I cannot but greatly approve of the wisdom of the compilers of our Statutes, in appointing public visitations, since the emulation raised, for some time before each, among the children, pushes them on with

uncommon ardour; and the openness and impartiality of the examination is the fairest way imaginable of giving satisfaction to the gentlemen concerned in the visitation, and the Friends of the scholars, that the Master has done his duty.

Further, boys are sent to the Grammar School at 10 or 12, in order "to acquire a tolerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues" in three or four years; "but were they sent to us as soon as they could read, though they were but six, nay five years old, there are methods of teaching them suitable to their capacity and they might make themselves so far masters of the learned languages, as to read them with ease and pleasure, and never forget them, as long as they live; and yet have time enough and to spare allowed them to qualify themselves for the counter besides."

The visitation opened with a reading of the School statutes. Then a scholar, possibly the senior boy of his year, delivered a Latin Oration full of compliments to the Mayor and to "vos ceteri hujusce urbis spectatissimi Senatores," and garnished with classical allusions. Francis Woodward, who delivered the short Oration which Catcott published, dragged in Alexander, Caesar, the Spartans, Cato, Fabricius, Regulus, Achilles, Homer, Demosthenes, Philip of Macedon, Cicero, and Catiline; he ended with formal flattery of the distinguished visitors—

hoc solum restat, ut Deum obsecremus, nec tales magistratus, talesque divini evangelii ministros [the Dean and three other clergy were present on this occasion], qualibus nunc cives Bristolenses utuntur, huic urbi, nec tales patronos huic nostrae scholae, quibus nunc frui licet, unquam defuturos esse.

These preliminaries over, there followed a series of exercises in verse, delivered and—if we may believe Catcott, who goes out of his way to tell us so in his preface—composed by boys of the School. Two sets of Greek verses came first: then a number of Latin verses, including, for example, the second ode of Horace's first book set into hexameters: and finally a series of English poems. These last, it is interesting to note, formed about three-fifths of all the exercises on this occasion; whether this was a normal proportion, or merely a consequence of having a

quondam poet as headmaster, it is impossible to say. The subject-matter of the English verses seems discouraging. It was evidently a canine year, for the titles included "The Mastiff," "The Spaniel," "The Lap Dog," and "The Turnspit"; nor did "The Parrot's Elegy" (from Ovid), "The Pidgeon" (from Anacreon), or "On a Robin Redbreast that used to frequent the Choir at Canterbury" inspire their authors to great achievement. Last of all came a poem, evidently customary in form, whose speaker pointed, at appropriate lines, to the portraits of the founders or to the honours lists which adorned the interior walls of the hall of the Bartholomews.

View there the worthy founders, plac'd on high,  
That seem to mark you with a living eye,

directed the auditors' attention to the Thorne brothers, and

Some too we see, whose ornamental names,  
With decent pride, our common mother claims,  
Nor yet (behold) is the succession lost.

What pregnant wits this grammar school hath shown,  
Oxford and Cambridge both will own.

was a reminder of the School's connexion with the universities.

After the speech and the verses, the clergy examined the three upper classes, and the mayor rewarded those boys whose work was adjudged the best, paying them "premiums." In the year of which Catcott tells us, these amounted to £4 2s. 6d., "besides what the gentlemen gave of their private bounties." At this stage, no doubt, the Mayor would find it hard to resist the temptation to make a speech, and probably the Dean and others of the notables as well. Only then did the visitors retire to what Francis Woodward, in verses written for an earlier visitation but included by Catcott in this volume of 1737, calls their "cracknells, tongues, and wine, a rich repast." It is good to note, as Woodward says, that "we (the boys) also had a share." They had earned one.

There had been early bequests to form a library at the School, among them Nicholas Thorne's £30 and books, £68 given by Richard Wickham in 1626, and £10 by William Burns in 1634. Items in the city accounts, notably during the mastership of

Richard Cheynie (1622-36), show expenditure on books. But we have no detailed information about the books the library contained until 1725, when Catcott had them catalogued.<sup>98</sup> The collection at that date included, for example, several of the works of Erasmus, a Dutch Bible and a copy, lately rebound, of Camden's *Britannia*; but it was predominantly devoted to the classical authors and to the Early Fathers. Like Nicholas Thorne's scientific instruments, this considerable collection of folios and octavos, the accumulation of two centuries, has disappeared without trace. Every library contains a sediment of unused books, which bring dignity but not utility to the shelves, and it is hard to believe that even minds so drowned in the classics as those of eighteenth-century grammar-school boys can have made very extensive use, for example, of the writings of St. Ambrose. Yet in its wide range of classical writings and commentaries it was clearly a "working" library and a not unimpressive one in days when books were costly and still relatively rare, and book-learning was a privilege of the few. It seems anachronistic to talk in terms of school "equipment" before comparatively recent times; yet books have always been the most important item of equipment of grammar schools, and this list of well over one hundred works ranging from Herodotus to Tacitus, from Cicero to Polydore Vergil, and from Erasmus on St. Paul to Casaubon on Persius suggests that Bristol Grammar School was not ill equipped in the eighteenth century.

It sent its share, perhaps more than its share, of scholars to the universities. In 1657-8 the Corporation in its tribute to the late headmaster, Walter Rainsthorp, had described him as "sending many able and hopeful scholars to the University,"<sup>99</sup> and this tradition had been maintained. Four benefactions, the earliest of them going back to Elizabethan days, had contributed to its creation. In 1566 Sir Thomas White, the merchant taylor, Lord Mayor of London, founder of St. John's College, Oxford, and generous benefactor of several English cities, established close scholarships at St. John's, tenable by boys from the grammar schools at Coventry, Reading, and Bristol. For almost four centuries Bristol Grammar School has continued to send these scholars to St. John's, and until 1854 they automatically became Fellows of the College after three years.<sup>100</sup> The three remaining

benefactions, each of them smaller in its scale and less permanent in its rewards than Sir Thomas White's grant, all came within ten years in the reign of Charles I. In 1627 Alderman John Whitson, sometime Sheriff, Mayor and M.P. for the city, and founder of the Red Maids School in Bristol, left two-thirds of his residuary estate for "such good uses of perpetuity" as the Mayor and Aldermen should think fit; and they decided that £20 yearly should be provided towards the maintenance at Oxford or Cambridge of two poor men's sons that first had their education in the free Grammar School of Bristol. Next, in 1634, George White founded an exhibition of £5 per annum tenable at the university of Oxford by the sons of freemen of the city of Bristol educated at the Grammar School; and finally in 1636 Mrs. Anne Snigge gave £12 per annum to grant exhibitions at Oxford or Cambridge to two deserving boys at the Grammar School. The total effect of these benefactions was to provide a real measure of assistance to Grammar School boys who wished to enter the university, and thus to enable the School to continue to send, at all times, a small proportion of its pupils thither.

The great majority of them went to Oxford, for "distant Cambridge" was far away before the days of fast coaches or of railways. Among Oxford colleges, St. John's drew a fairly regular succession of boys, despite its discouraging experience with the first Sir Thomas White scholar, Jonas Meredith (1566), who was expelled from the College as a recusant and later became a Catholic priest. Several Whitson exhibitioners went up to Christ Church in the seventeenth century, and later Balliol seems to have attracted Bristol boys. The Corporation attempted to establish a permanent connexion between the Grammar School and Balliol, and in 1698 decreed that "all exhibitioners henceforward be sent to Balliol College in Oxon."<sup>101</sup> Two years later there was an interesting exchange of agreements and compliments between the Corporation and the governing body of the college. In August, 1700, the city agreed to pay Balliol the sum of £100 towards "the building of chambers for the exhibitioners to be sent from our Grammar School to that College"; in November of the same year an act of the college, promising "all due care" of these exhibitioners, was entered in the city records.<sup>102</sup> But it does not appear that the rule to send all exhibitioners to Balliol

was rigidly enforced during the eighteenth century. The history of the exhibitions is a tangled one; there are gaps in our records, but it is clear that awards were made at irregular intervals. The demand for them was inconsistent, or the funds to meet it not always available. Payments from the Whitson endowment were suspended, for example, between 1674 and 1684 because the estate was "not sufficient to defray all the good uses which have hitherto been paid";<sup>103</sup> and in 1738 the Corporation found that Mrs. Anne Snigge's bequest had not been applied to its proper purpose owing to the slight demand, and had been used instead for "decayed tradesmen or husbandmen."<sup>104</sup> Further, on a number of occasions one Grammar School boy at Oxford held simultaneously more than one of the exhibitions.

The background of these scholars and exhibitioners, so far as we can trace them, provides us with a limited amount of quite significant information. The majority of the Whitson Exhibitioners, it appears, were the sons of persons of prosperous or at any rate respectable standing, merchants, clergymen, or other professional men; more are classified in the records as "gent." than as "pleb." Nor had the Corporation any hesitation in making awards to relatives of its own members, as in 1655 to William James, the son of a former mayor of the city. But on several occasions awards went to boys from what were probably quite humble homes. In 1684 William Ball, the son of one of the Sergeants-at-Mace of the city, got one, though whether it did him any good is not clear, for he is later recorded as having "departed beyond the seas." A more notable poor boy was Thomas Fry, son of Thomas Fry "pleb." of Pipe Lane, Bristol: already a Sir Thomas White scholar, he was granted a Whitson Exhibition in 1737: twenty years later he became President of St. John's. The evidence of these exhibitioners suggests that by the eighteenth century the School—like the generality of grammar schools at the time—found most of its pupils among the sons of the well-to-do, the prosperous upper class of the city, headed by the merchants whose ships still tied up at the quays on the Frome a little distance from the Bartholomews; but that there was still place and opportunity for a few of the children of the poor.

Inevitably, most of the Grammar School boys who went to

the universities took orders and eventually held livings—some returning to Bristol, others going to country parishes. It was the normal evolution of the university student who was not an hereditary landowner. William Ball and Thomas Fry were, in their different fashions, quite exceptional. Some of these scholars and exhibitioners achieved minor ecclesiastical fame. William Hayward, the son of a cooper in Ballance Street, Bristol, and a scholar of St. John's in 1617, became a chaplain to that greater son of St. John's, Archbishop Laud, and a Prebendary of Westminster, suffering imprisonment during the Civil War and giving evidence on Laud's behalf at his trial in 1643. George Attwood, Whitson Exhibitioner of 1699–1700, was for twenty-six years Archdeacon of Taunton. Several became schoolmasters, among them John Rainsthorp, the pluralist headmaster of the School from 1670 to 1687, and one or two doctors. Robert Huntington, who matriculated at Merton College, Oxford, in 1654, became a Fellow of that college and its first librarian, an orientalist of note, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and finally—in 1701, shortly before his death—Bishop of Raphoe in Ireland.<sup>105</sup> One of Catcott's pupils achieved regrettable local notoriety. He was Emanuel Collins, who became Vicar of Bedminster, where he kept a public house and performed the marriage ceremony in it at a crown a couple; he also published in 1762 *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, etc.*, a work which, so the Bristol annalist John Evans believed, showed "that the man had more ability than good moral taste in the choice of subjects for his muse."<sup>106</sup> But it must be admitted that there seems to have been little real eminence among these old boys of the School in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In 1764 Samuel Seyer resigned the headmastership. It would not be long before his successor removed the School from the Bartholomews buildings, closing an epoch in its history. There are signs that a strong corporate loyalty had arisen towards the end of these years. One is the foundation in 1734 of some sort of old boys' society, to which William Goldwin, formerly headmaster, and now Vicar of St. Nicholas, preached a sermon.<sup>107</sup> Another, in a curious way, is that poem, "The Grammar School of Bristol," which had been spoken at a visitation and which

Catcott printed in his pamphlet of 1737.<sup>108</sup> Its verse is exquisitely bad and its phrasing is vilely stilted, yet somehow it provides a convincing picture of the scene at the Bartholomews, and of the daily life of the School. A brief account of it may serve as a leave-taking of the old site.

Where the small Frome his widening bank divides,  
To form a bay for Avon's swelling tides,  
And the soft ooze receives th'incumbent weight  
Of stronging vessels, big with weighty freight

stands the building which, according to the author, "pious Thorn" saved from "greedy hands." As you enter

The doors unfold; a passage strikes your sight,  
Dark, narrow, dismal with malignant light

though now, as a footnote in the book of 1737 says, it has been made lighter.

From hence escap'd, you find an open space;  
Young, thriving trees the pleasant prospect grace.  
An antient elm full in the middle stands,  
And all around its leavy arms expands.

Here you find "youthful striplings—eager in action and intent on sport."

Part arm'd with scourges vex the flying top;  
Part whirl from head to foot the circling rope;  
Some strike the ball; and some, the goal around,  
Pursu'd, pursuing, traverse o'er the ground;  
Taw\* pleases these; with bodies crouching low,  
And thumbs compress'd, they aim a distant blow.

But then "the sportive crew" are called away by the "thund'ring voice" of the master, and off they rush to the schoolroom, where (once again, with somewhat different results)

The doors unfold, and on each side disclose  
Long classes, rising in three equal rows.

We are shown the "Throne-like seat" of the master who "awes his little subjects with a frown," aided, it is admitted, by "dire

\* Marbles.

rods (as Rome's of old)." At the other end of the room is the "inferior master."

With lesser grace  
He shines, and only fills the second place.

Work proceeds.

And now, intent at work, the youth explore  
With care, the Graecian and the Roman store;  
What florid words above their fellows shine  
They cull; and in a busy murmur join.

It is an appropriate moment to leave the Bartholomews.

### *Chapter III*

#### UNITY STREET: DECLINE AND FALL

THE last three decades of the eighteenth century brought a decline in the fortunes of Bristol Grammar School which may quite properly be called sensational. The number of scholars fell from about one hundred at the time of Seyer's resignation in 1764 to a mere handful at the turn of the century, and when his successor, Charles Lee, died in 1811 there had for some years been none at all. Lee and his ushers continued to draw their stipends, and Lee—though not, apparently, the ushers—lived in the School house. Until Lee grew too aged and infirm, they taught private pupils who lived at the School as boarders; but the "Free Grammar School" had ceased to exist. This process took place, if not with the active approval, certainly with the connivance of the Corporation; moreover, it took place in new and larger buildings to which the Corporation had deliberately transferred the school shortly after Lee's arrival.<sup>109</sup>

To twentieth-century minds, accustomed to a high degree of responsibility in the management of educational endowments, such a state of affairs appears scandalous. It is by any standards a little difficult to justify, and it did not go uncriticized at the time; in 1803 a group of former scholars of the Grammar School, many of them distinguished in various fields of local public activity, presented a memorial to the Corporation on the subject.<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, it was characteristic of the age, as was the fact that the Corporation referred the memorial to those of its number who were the official visitors of the Grammar School, and took no further action. The great public vice of eighteenth-century England was the apathy and slackness of chartered institutions, and it was a vice which the grammar schools, reflecting the habits of the corporations that governed them, shared to the full. The age of decadence in their history had begun, and it was to last until the middle of the following century, when Victorian individualism began a revival which State aid completed. Their decline in this period is one of the major disasters of our

educational history. The social consequences of what we have come to call the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions were shattering the traditional unity of English life, and the nation was moving nearer to open violence between rich and poor than at any time since the Peasants' Revolt. Had the grammar schools been genuinely free, providing a common educational environment for the children of every class, they would have been a factor of immense importance in bridging the chasm between Disraeli's "two nations" and thus in transforming the terrible history of social struggle in the first half of the nineteenth century. But this was just what they could not do so long as they remained under the control of a mercantile middle class which was concerned only to retain its own privileges. Torpid, complacent yet—in this French Revolutionary age—frightened of any reform, devoid of the responsibility which comes with democratic election, the corporations of the chartered towns, like the monasteries of three centuries earlier, were dead to the moving forces of their age, and their schools were dying with them.

In general, the English grammar schools of the eighteenth century had educated neither the landowning upper class nor the mass of the labouring poor, and they probably contributed little to the schooling of that rising social group whose achievements were to dominate nineteenth-century Britain, the industrial capitalists. Now—and it is the striking feature of their decline—they ceased to provide even for the children of the class that governed them, the merchants and the professional men who were the freemen and burgesses of the chartered towns. Such men preferred to send their sons to the innumerable private schools that sprang up in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These schools, ranging in type from the reality of Rowland Hill's hyper-enlightened Haselwood at one extreme to the fictional caricature of Whackford Squeers's abominable Dotheboys Hall at the other, have been much attacked. Yet without them the sons of the middle class—or at least that great majority whose incomes did not permit them to buy entry to the public schools—would in most places have had little chance of secondary education during much of the nineteenth century. No doubt plain snobbery was an important factor in their growth. But they enjoyed one great educational advantage.

Their proprietors could teach what their pupils' parents wanted; and this was no longer the traditional discipline of the classics, but, increasingly, modern studies like English, mathematics, geography, and even some science. The private schools, like the dissenting academies, flourished because they met the needs of the contemporary middle class, and, incidentally, they made a notable contribution to curriculum reform.<sup>111</sup>

The grammar schools, in contrast, remained shackled to the classics by law as well as by tradition. In the *Leeds Grammar School* case of 1805 Lord Eldon gave judgment that the headmaster of an endowed grammar school could not legally be compelled to teach anything but Greek and Latin, and this remarkable decision remained law until the Grammar Schools Act of 1840 empowered the courts to reverse it. It provided a notable opportunity for headmasters: indeed, an interesting feature of the *Leeds* case is that it was the governors who sought to widen the curriculum to include arithmetic, writing, and modern languages, and the headmaster who successfully insisted on the classics. As a result, the headmaster of an endowed school could refuse to teach anything but Greek and Latin, and where—as was general—there was little or no demand for the classics, he might virtually shut his school and yet retain his salary. This was by no means unknown: Coventry and Thame, for example, both had schools in this period where there were two masters and one boy, and Whitgift for over thirty years had a headmaster who enjoyed no pupils. An alternative and more profitable course open to headmasters was, with the connivance of the corporation, to teach subjects other than the classics and charge high fees for doing so. Thus the free pupils diminished or disappeared, and the local grammar schools, their endowments curiously perverted from their ancient purpose, became their masters' private boarding schools. Eldon's judgment, which by itself would have been a disaster, all but killed institutions which were already in full decay under negligent and irresponsible corporations.

What happened at Bristol, therefore, was typical, not unique. The interesting thing about the Bristol episode is not that decline occurred but that it came so suddenly. Here was no slow decay

over a century. Within one generation a flourishing school became virtually extinct. There were evidently special local causes at work. It is certain, for example, that the troubles of the School were indirectly connected with the economic difficulties that came upon the city at this period as a result of the War of American Independence, of the diminution of the slave trade, and of the prolonged wars with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Loss of trade no doubt contributed to that decline in public spirit of which there is much evidence in Bristol at the time, and education is invariably an early victim of a lack of public spirit. The Corporation of the city was the incarnation of this failing. It was no more slack than the normal corporation of the late eighteenth century, and its records are notably free from traces of personal corruption among its members.<sup>112</sup> But it seriously neglected the public interests of the city by a policy, if policy it may be called, of procrastination and passivity. Its members were notorious for their absenteeism and for their reluctance to serve their turn of office. Moreover, except during a few years right at the end of the century, its finances were in perpetual disorder through "recklessly lavish housekeeping." It was prodigal in expenditure on liveries and state coaches, on dinners and wines, on butts of sherry and pipes of port to city members of parliament, to the Recorders and to the High Steward; on large money presents and on an annual salary to the Mayor which ran up to £2500, in addition to allowances, perquisites and furnishings; and on costly building schemes for the Council House and the Mansion House. Such conduct accumulated unpopularity and eventually provoked the Reform Bill riots of 1831. In the meantime, it involved the gross neglect of the city's free grammar school.

To these generalized local causes it is tempting to add a particular and personal one, by suggesting that Charles Lee was neither a dutiful nor an efficient schoolmaster. The record is against him. But any attempt to estimate Lee's part in the decline of the School must lead us to the extraordinary event which occurred in the first few years of his mastership—the exchange of buildings between the Grammar School and another old Bristol foundation, Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. The Bristol historian William Barrett, writing in 1789, within little more

than twenty years of this event, said of it "For encouragement of the master and better accommodation of boarders (and he is allowed to take some) the house at the Bartholomews, being old, dark, and in a low inconvenient situation, was exchanged for the more airy and spacious hospital of Queen Elizabeth in Orchard-Street."<sup>113</sup> This is a cautious statement, open to varying interpretation and leaving a great deal unsaid in explanation of an episode which needs explaining—in view of the considerable expenditure which the Corporation had undertaken on the Bartholomews buildings in the decade before the exchange. Many Bristol writers have suggested a reason for the transaction which is at once clearer and less creditable to Lee and others concerned. The story deserves re-examination, partly because of the light it sheds on the procedures of an eighteenth-century corporation.<sup>114</sup>

Lee took office in 1764 and soon, it seems, became dissatisfied with conditions at the Bartholomews; for, at a meeting of the Common Council on 7th June, 1766, a committee, consisting of the Mayor, the Aldermen and the gentlemen past the chair, was appointed to consider what additions and alterations were necessary "for the better accommodation of the scholars."<sup>115</sup> On 22nd July this committee briefly reported that "it would be a Publick Benefit if the Masters and Scholars belonging to the Grammar School were removed to the building called Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, and the Masters and Boys belonging to that Hospital removed to the Grammar School."<sup>116</sup> This was the first public suggestion of exchange, and it raised an awkward legal problem. Queen Elizabeth's Hospital had been founded as a charity school in 1586. John Carr had left to the Corporation certain lands in Somerset for founding an hospital for poor children in a house or place within the city which the Mayor and Aldermen should appoint, and the Corporation had established the hospital in St. Mark's near College Green, a step confirmed by an act of Parliament which declared that "the hospital so founded and the house so employed shall be so for ever."<sup>117</sup> In 1703 new buildings were erected for Queen Elizabeth's Hospital in Unity Street: public subscription, headed by Edward Colston, met their cost. These new buildings were appreciably larger and much more convenient than the Bartholomews, and moreover they were some distance away from

the smelly and unwholesome waters of the Frome. Could the Corporation legally transfer them from one endowment to the other?

The committee reported again and at length on 6th September, 1766.<sup>118</sup> They declared that the existing premises of the Grammar School were not spacious enough to accommodate the children of those citizens who would like to have their boys educated at home, but were "fit for all the purposes" of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. The Hospital buildings, on the other hand, would "accommodate more than twice the number of young gentlemen" that the Bartholomews building held. They had carefully investigated the foundation and constitution of the Hospital and had decided that the transfer could justifiably take place, since it did not appear to matter *where* the endowments were used, provided they were properly applied. "As it is in fact indifferent . . . in what part of the city the charitable intentions of the donors are effectuated, whilst the whole revenue arising from the several benefactions continue to be employed to the purposes for which they are given, your committee can see no sort of impropriety in the proposed exchange." But to guard against the letter of the Queen Elizabeth's Act being strictly interpreted to prevent a transfer, it would, the committee concluded, be wise to apply for a new Act of Parliament to authorize one. The Council accepted the findings of the committee, and ordered "that the said exchange do take place immediately," stating at the same time that the "sanction of the legislature" should if possible be obtained at the next application of the Corporation to Parliament.

In fact they waited until December, 1768, before asking for parliamentary sanction, and then—presumably to save legal expenses—they coupled it with a request for an Act altering the dates of the two annual Bristol fairs. The Act itself came in 1769; on 5th May the Council was informed that it had been passed.<sup>119</sup> Thereupon they ordered "that the Masters and Scholars belonging to the Free Grammar School in this City do immediately remove" to the Unity Street buildings. This last order has been called "the final scene of a solemn farce,"<sup>120</sup> for it is certain that the move had already taken place at some time in 1767. Proof of this is to be found in the Chamberlain's Accounts for the years 1767-8.<sup>121</sup> The entries in his books and

the accompanying bundles of receipts signed by masons and carpenters lay the process before us. In February, 1767, we find Joseph Grindon "Tyler and Plaisterer" receiving £30 "towards his note for the alteration of the Blew School near College Green (i.e. Q.E.H.) for the reception of the Master and Boys from the Grammar School." The wording here suggests that the move had not yet taken place: but later entries—and there are a very considerable number of them in 1767—leave us in no doubt. On 4th May Joseph Hill was paid £28 13s. od. "for the bricks used at Queen Elizabeth's Hospital now the Grammar School": on 28th August Thomas Swaine, Smith, was paid £6 10s. 6d. "for work at the Blew School in Xmas Street, late the Grammar School," and during the next three days Joseph Grindon, John Harris "Carpenter" and William Edwards "Mason" received payment for work described in identical terms; and at the end of September, among a series of entries concerned with the exchange, there are more payments to Joseph Hill for bricks used "at the City Blue School late the Grammar School" and "at the late Queen Elizabeth's Hospital now the Grammar School." Evidently the Masters and scholars exchanged their habitations in the summer—probably the early summer—of 1767. The Act of Parliament in 1769 was in effect a formality. As Barrett discreetly puts it, "the exchange of the houses thus made, it was afterwards thought proper to get it confirmed by act of parliament, which was accordingly done."<sup>122</sup>

The exchange has been described as "a remarkable, not to say scandalous, transaction."<sup>123</sup> Remarkable it certainly was, but scarcely scandalous, unless we are prepared to condemn with it most of the public business of the eighteenth century. It was in fact profoundly characteristic of the age, in its remarkable blend of common sense, class distinction, and the personal element. At the time when it took place, the Grammar School had about one hundred pupils between 13 and 18 years of age, and the Hospital thirty-six, all of them under 14; and to exchange buildings was, as has been observed, "a case of suiting the long coat to the tall boy and the short coat to the small boy."<sup>124</sup> This was common sense; yet common sense weighted, in this situation, in favour of "the tall boy." For the boys of the Grammar School were, as the committee of Council had said,

“young gentlemen,” whereas Queen Elizabeth’s Hospital was merely a charity school. It is not without significance that out of the total of some £770 spent on altering the buildings of the two schools in 1767–8, over £700 appears to have gone towards fitting the Unity Street premises for the Master and boys of the Grammar School.<sup>125</sup> This was the operation of class distinction in the manner of the age. It should be noted that the exchange covered only the buildings, and did not extend to the endowments. The Act of 1769 clearly laid it down that each school, while henceforward owning the buildings formerly occupied by the other, should retain its own endowments as they had been before the exchange.

The remaining element in the transaction, that of personal influence, deserves special consideration. It was invariably a weighty factor in public life in the eighteenth century; and here tradition has given it a peculiar, indeed almost a romantic, importance. In January, 1768, Charles Lee married the only daughter of Alderman Dampier, an influential member of the Corporation. It is said that the lady, disliking the prospect of living in the “insalubrious” district by the Frome and attracted by the clearer air and better social prospects of the College Green neighbourhood, had persuaded her father to promote the exchange; and that this was the principal motive behind the whole affair. The story gains some colour from the fact that Dampier was not only one of the committee which carried out the investigation and recommended the move, but also one of the two members appointed to take charge of the alterations to the fabric in Unity Street. Dampier, doubtless, was not unwilling to promote a scheme which so obviously favoured his own family; eighteenth-century aldermen were not squeamish about such things. Certainly his daughter’s designs and his influence must have been an important element in the exchange of schools. But it is scarcely likely that they were the main one, in a transaction for which there were other acceptable motives, and which involved a considerable expenditure of the Corporation’s funds. There were limits to the power of intrigue of even that much maligned class, headmasters’ wives—or, strictly, wives-to-be, for the lady was still Miss Dampier when the exchange took place. She won her triumph principally because the exchange had on its side

both practical common sense and the all-pervading class distinction of the age.

There are deeper criticisms to be made. The anticipation of parliamentary sanction argues an indecent haste to create a *fait accompli*, although it is by no means unprecedented in English affairs. It is difficult to deny the truth of Latimer's contention, made with particular reference to the transfer of buildings erected for the Hospital by public subscription, that "the removal of the boarding school to a less healthy locality in order to convert its property into a day school for boys of a wealthier class was an obvious and flagrant breach of trust."<sup>126</sup> Most serious charge of all, the exchange opened the way to the process whereby the School became in effect Lee's private concern. It encouraged the view, already very strong, that the School existed for "young gentlemen," and it provided Lee with additional accommodation for boarders. Thus it was bound to accelerate the decline of the "Free Grammar School," a decline so complete in Lee's last years. Even in the matter of buildings, the Grammar School won only a short-term victory: Queen Elizabeth's Hospital was so obviously ill-placed at the Bartholomews that it obtained new buildings in 1847, whereas the Grammar School had to wait until 1879 until it escaped from the Unity Street buildings which it had by that time seriously outgrown. Those who like retribution mixed with their history will find ample material here.

The new buildings to which Lee led his scholars in triumph in 1767 no longer exist, and in their place stands the brick pile of the Merchant Venturers' Technical College. When the Charity Commissioners visited the School in 1821, they described the premises as consisting of "a very good and spacious dwelling-house for the master, and a school-room of large dimensions, not less than one hundred feet long, over which is a dormitory of the same dimensions. On the ground floor, there is a hall used by the boys to play in in wet weather, beyond which is a paved open yard or court, used also as a play-ground. There are also proper offices, such as a wash house, brew-house, etc."<sup>127</sup> A surviving model of the buildings, suggests that, however inadequate to their purposes they eventually became, they were not

without a certain dignity and charm, and that they were by no means unfit neighbours of the comely houses of Orchard Street.

Charles Lee remained their tenant until he died in 1811 after forty-seven years as Headmaster. It is a record which twentieth-century regulations about retirement make impossible to equal, and indeed it is scarcely likely that any of his successors would wish to rival either this or any other of Lee's achievements. Yet the decline which marked his régime was slow to begin. He was, it is said, a good classical scholar, and "during the early years of his management the Grammar School was largely attended by the sons of respectable citizens."<sup>128</sup> Among them, incidentally, was the son of his predecessor, Samuel Seyer: he was awarded one of the School's university exhibitions in 1772. Lee's later pupils, about 1800, included one Thomas Bowditch, the son of a local hatter; before his death in the Gambia at the age of 33 he had led a trading mission to a savage king in Ashanti and written numerous scientific and geographical works.<sup>129</sup> In 1789, when Lee had already been in office for a quarter of a century, that somewhat unctuous historian William Barrett could write—

This school has long flourished under the care and patronage of the Corporation, and the distinguished abilities of the masters who have presided there, and have greatly supported its credit . . . so that this free grammar-school continues to grow in esteem, to the great advantage of the citizens of Bristol, who are inclined to give their sons a learned education at little expence, and prepare them for the university or any of the professions of divinity, physic, or law, and who have a natural right and gratuitous claim to the privileges of the school and the fellowship and exhibitions in Oxford belonging to it.<sup>130</sup>

Perhaps an early sign of decline was the cessation about 1780 of what is said to have been an old custom of the School, whereby the head boy went annually to the Council House and delivered a Latin oration to the Mayor, who duly rewarded him with gold. It seems certain that a rot set in during the 1790s and that thenceforward the number of free scholars and the repute of the School fell swiftly. There was ultimately, it is said, only one free scholar, "Lee's Chick," who was, so Latimer suggests, "accepted to guard against legal action as to the shameful misappropriation

of the endowment."<sup>131</sup> No doubt Lee discouraged the attendance of free scholars so that he might fill his school with fee-paying boarders. Yet it is probable that in his last two or three years old age compelled him to give up even the boarders, and that the School was empty.

One serious attempt was made to stop the decline.<sup>132</sup> Its authors were a group of old boys of the School who had attained some local eminence; it is a little odd to find the "old school" spirit at work in the eighteenth century, and most refreshing to discern a measure of active public spirit in Bristol's affairs at this time. The Bristol Grammar School old boys of the early nineteenth century included some very varied persons, if we may judge from a brief list that chance has preserved: on it were a number of city worthies of diverse occupations ranging from an architect to a leather breeches maker, a Gentleman Usher to the King, a barrister who had gone mad, a notorious local swindler and incendiary, "Corcoran, an Irishman," Francis Bassett of Cornwall (a considerable owner of tin-mines and created Lord de Dunstanville), and Benjamin Hobhouse, an M.P. of some distinction. One or two of the more respectable members of this group were among those who in August, 1802, met and dined at the Bush Tavern to discuss the affairs of the Grammar School, and who, as a result of their meeting, sent to the Mayor and Corporation in 1803 a memorial praying that action should be taken to restore it to prosperity. The Corporation did nothing; nevertheless, another meeting of old boys took place in 1804. Those who attended drank numerous toasts, listened to Alderman Daniel saying—presumably on behalf of the Corporation—that he "thought it highly probable that the laudable object in view would be accomplished," and went home well contented. The plight of the School remained unaltered.

Only the Corporation could take effective action, and the Corporation would not. Its members were not wholly uninterested in education in these years. In March, 1790, for example, they summarily dismissed John Davies, the Master of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, as a result of representations about his "gross behaviour, neglect and conduct," and set up a committee to make new rules for that institution. But Charles Lee went his way unchecked, and it is clear that he had friends on the Council,

among them Alderman Daniel, the most powerful figure in the public life of Bristol in the early nineteenth century. There were indeed limits to the complaisance of the Corporation. In 1795 the usher—or, as he was at this time called, the under-master—the Rev. Israel Lewis, received a free gift of £20, and from 1803 onwards Lewis's successor, William Edwards, got this extra payment annually; thus the total stipend of this office was raised to £80 per annum.<sup>133</sup> But a similar proposal, made by Alderman Daniel in 1795, to grant Lee a gift of £35, was rejected. Further, twice (in 1805 and in 1809) Daniel moved that Lee should be given a retiring pension of £200 per annum, and twice a majority of members voted against him.<sup>134</sup> The failure of these two attempts to secure a relatively affluent retirement for the old man meant that he would stay on until his death, a headmaster aged and infirm and without pupils—but with a stipend and a house.

When Lee died in October, 1811, the Corporation seems to have made a genuine effort to revive the School. At a meeting on 18th December members discussed the question of appointing his successor, and set up a committee to revise the rules and ordinances of the School.<sup>135</sup> The committee worked either with extraordinary zeal or with negligent haste, for it reported within a month—a month that included the Christmas holiday season. On 16th January, 1812, the Council heard its proposals, and accepted nearly all of them.<sup>136</sup> There were very few changes from the rules of 1745. The fees were increased: admission money went up from five shillings to four pounds, firing was to cost each pupil ten shillings per annum and sweeping two and sixpence per quarter. The committee, with more sense of reality than respect for the law, wished to charge all pupils a yearly fee of six guineas, but the Council rejected this proposal. These increased fees would concern parents; the only other change in the ordinances was of more direct interest to scholars, for it altered the length of the holidays. The new rule reflects changing social custom, saying that

the Scholars shall not absent themselves from the school until such time before Lammas Day and the Feast of the Nativity

as the School shall break up, that is to say, four days before the Nativity and three days before Lammas Day; the Schoolmasters to begin to teach fourteen days after the Epiphany if the same shall so fall upon Monday or Tuesday, if not, the next Monday after, and the second Monday after the Feast of Saint Bartholomew.

This gave the boys about a month's holiday at Christmas and some five weeks in the summer. In June, 1813, in response to a petition from parents and guardians, the Corporation agreed that the summer vacation should begin at Midsummer instead of three days before Lammas, thus adding an extra month and providing what must be regarded as a not ungenerous holiday.<sup>137</sup>

This petition points to the existence of an active school within two years of Lee's death. In March, 1812, the Corporation had appointed its new Master.<sup>138</sup> There were four candidates before them, and it appears that other names had been canvassed. One of these was that of Edward Hawtrey, a young man of 22 who was then a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Had he been appointed, the evolution of the School in the nineteenth century might have been utterly different, and it might to-day be hailed, like those former grammar schools of Rugby and Uppingham, as one of the "traditional" public boarding schools. For Hawtrey joined the staff of Eton, becoming in 1834 Headmaster, probably the greatest Eton has ever had, and in 1853 Provost; and there can be little doubt that this uncompromising reformer would have transformed any institution of which he took command.<sup>139</sup> In view of the events that the next thirty years were to bring to the Grammar School, the failure to appoint Hawtrey must be regarded as one of the unhappier chances of its history.

The choice of the Corporation fell upon the Rev. John Joseph Goodenough, of New College, Oxford. He is one of the only four former headmasters who are commemorated by painting or sculpture in the present school, and his bust stands to-day in the School Library. It must be said at once that the School has had no headmaster, except perhaps his predecessor Lee, who has been so little worthy of a lasting memorial. By an ominous parallel with Lee, Goodenough also married the daughter of a member of the Corporation, and in some ways his career reproduced the main features of Lee's régime. The perversion of the

free grammar school into the private boarding school, the connivance of the Corporation, the decline of the number of scholars to nil—all these reappear. But Goodenough lacked the excuse of old age which Lee could offer in his later years. He was 33 at the time of his appointment and 50 in 1829, by which date the School ceased once more to have any scholars; and even in 1844, when he at last departed from the buildings, he was only 65, an age at which it is quite possible that Lee still had a few pupils. Further, Goodenough revived the practice of pluralism. His late seventeenth-century predecessors had been content with Bristol livings, but in 1820 Goodenough presented to the Corporation a memorial "stating that he was offered a living in Buckinghamshire the acceptance of which would not in any degree interfere with the duties of his situation in this City and requesting that the Corporation would sanction his being inducted into the said Rectory."<sup>140</sup> The Corporation did not flinch at this remarkable statement, but granted his request, adding merely a formal proviso to the effect that he should give up the headmastership if the living did at any time interfere. Finally, Goodenough is in one respect unique among the headmasters of Bristol Grammar School. He alone has been threatened with legal proceedings to evict him from the School premises.

The appointment of Goodenough was to prove an opportunity lost. He was permitted to take as many boarders and day scholars as he wished, and to make what terms he could with their parents.<sup>141</sup> It was clear from the start that his intention was to use the ancient foundation and the Unity Street buildings to create a private boarding school run for his own profit, and that the Corporation encouraged him in this course. Nevertheless, whatever its guise and whatever the motive, the School had at least re-started. Three pieces of evidence, slight in themselves, together suggest that its growth was fairly swift. The first is the petition of parents and guardians in 1813 requesting a longer summer holiday. The second is—

a letter dated 23rd March last (1816) addressed to the Mayor from the Revd. George Darville stating that this House has

upon former occasions testified their appreciation of the conduct of persons holding the situation of under-master of the Free Grammar School by bestowing upon him a yearly gratuity in addition to his salary, and praying this House to take the case of his having been three years in that situation without any such token of appreciation.

It is pleasing to note that the Corporation paid him a gratuity of £60; and it seems unlikely that they would have made him this relatively large grant had the School not been in active operation.<sup>142</sup> The third piece of evidence is in a descriptive list of grammar schools published in 1818. Bristol Grammar School, classified under "Somerset," is there described as having nearly eighty scholars. We may reasonably conclude that there was a real and rapid revival in Goodenough's early years, if not of the "Free Grammar School" in the true sense, at least of a school in the Unity Street buildings. And it is just possible that among Goodenough's first pupils was that Richard Bethell who, born in 1800, went up to Wadham College, Oxford, at the age of 14 or 15 and later (1861-5) became, as Lord Westbury, Lord Chancellor of England, and who was to be described in the Dictionary of National Biography as "the boldest judge who ever sat on the English bench."<sup>143</sup>

In 1821 an event occurred which was at once a portent of the future and a reliable source of evidence about the contemporary state of the School. The Charity Commissioners visited Bristol and investigated its charitable endowments, and their report upon the Grammar School enables us to form an accurate judgment about the nature of the School's revival and about the attitude of Goodenough and the Corporation.<sup>144</sup> The Commissioners observed that there were in 1821 only four or five free scholars upon the foundation. "The number varies a little, but there does not appear to have been more than ten for many years, although there is no positive limitation of the number. It is considered as open to all the sons of freemen within a mile of the liberties of the city of Bristol." The School had not been full for many years; "but the master states his belief, that it is a matter of general notoriety in Bristol that the School is open to the sons of any freemen who feel disposed to send them."

Then followed a sentence which revealed quite clearly Goodenough's policy of standing firmly on the judgment in the *Leeds Grammar School* case. "He considers himself bound only to teach the learned languages, or what is considered as coming within the description of learned literature, to such as accept the benefit of the Foundation." Goodenough knew his law, and had no hesitation in applying it.

The consequences were plain. "He has private pupils to the number of about thirty-five, who board with him. He receives also some day boarders, which with some of the freemen's sons who pay for extra instruction may make the total number about fifty." One wonders how many of the "four or five" freemen's sons did not pay for the "extra instruction" in modern studies, but were content with whatever classical teaching Goodenough chose in such circumstances to give them. The Commissioners made no exact statement of the fees Goodenough charged to his private pupils, for this, after all, was not strictly their business; but they found that "for an additional sum of sixteen guineas he puts the foundation boys upon a footing with his private pupils as to all branches of education." Further, the admission fee for free pupils who paid the sixteen guineas was reduced from £4 to £2 12s. 6d. Each free boy was charged "about seven shillings and sixpence a quarter" for sweeping and firing.

The Commissioners apparently felt it their duty to ask why there were so few free scholars. They got an unyielding answer. "The only reason assigned for the small number of free boys is, that the inhabitants of Bristol may have less want of an exclusively classical education, than of a general education, to which this institution does not extend." It is clear that Goodenough rather enjoyed putting the Commissioners in their place. He was bland, firm, and specious. "It is stated by the master that when any person keeping a shop or carrying on a retail business in Bristol applies to have a son received upon the foundation, the restricted purposes of the School are made known to him, that he may judge whether it will be consistent with his object to send his child, and that at the same time he declares his willingness to receive him." The Bristol historian, George Pryce, writing in 1861, observed that "it is notorious that this was done in such a way that parents were deterred from, rather than encouraged

to avail themselves of, the advantages of the school, as intended by the founder; but if induced to send their sons for instruction on the foundation, it was soon ascertained that the treatment they received was such as to induce them to withdraw from the institution." It was in fact the quintessence of snobbery, and at the same time sales talk of some skill. For in practice it would be a very strong-minded or an unusually saintly shopkeeper who did not ask for the non-classical tuition and pay his sixteen guineas.

The results of the Commissioners' investigation were negligible; they could scarcely be otherwise, for such practices as those of Goodenough were prevalent throughout the country. But in one matter they attempted to insist on the enforcement of the letter of the law, and by doing so they appear to have thrown the Corporation into a curious state of confusion.<sup>145</sup> In April, 1827, the Commissioners wrote asking why and when the admission fee had gone up to £4 instead of the fourpence originally laid down, and whether the increase in the master's stipend (above the original sixteenth century figure) covered the provision for the scholars of books and implements. These were innocent inquiries, but they worried the Corporation. In March, 1828, the Mayor and Aldermen, as Governors of the School, advised the Council to rescind its resolution of 1812, putting the admission fee up to £4, and to go back to the fourpence for free scholars, while allowing the master to admit all other children at terms agreed with their parents: it does not appear that this was ever in fact done, although it was mentioned again in the council-chamber in May, 1830.<sup>146</sup> At the same meeting in 1828 the Council passed a long and incoherent series of resolutions in reply to the Commissioners' letter. They discussed the admission fee and its historical background, and observed that the founder had directed that children should be instructed in Grammar and the Latin language. They declared —making a gross error in the date—that in 1785 the School had by Act of Parliament moved to "a large and commodious House well adapted for the reception of Boarders, the Children of tradesmen and of other respectable Burgesses of the City who might be deemed eligible to avail themselves of the advantages before noticed for which the Children of persons of a very

inferior condition . . . can never become qualified"; and that there were in existence numerous Charity Schools for the children of the poor. The Grammar School, they said, had fallen into decay in 1812; but "if the School could be placed on a respectable footing and young men of respectable families educated there" it would be better than admitting children of "persons of the very poorest class who could not advance." They finished by stating among other things that the School's income was limited, and that books were not to be provided out of the master's salary.

It was all rather muddled and very snobbish. But it seems to suggest that the Corporation was by this time somewhat concerned about the state of the School, and perturbed lest the Charity Commissioners might, by a strict interpretation of the rules of the foundation, cause a decline in its status. Its members preferred no school at all to one which would be open to "the children of persons of a very inferior condition"; and in fact no school at all was precisely what they were to have. For during the 1820s the number of scholars dwindled once more. It is likely that this was the result of Goodenough's pluralism abetted by the apathy of the Corporation. Content with the income provided by his School stipend and by his Buckinghamshire living, he apparently ceased even to take private boarders. The Corporation acquiesced, just as in 1824 and again in 1826 it acquiesced in Goodenough's virtual nomination of his own candidates to the under-mastership.<sup>147</sup> By 1829 the School was again empty. This time it was to remain empty for nineteen years, the nadir of its fortunes.<sup>148</sup> In this same year 1829, Goodenough, who was essentially a realist, petitioned for the Rectory of St. Peter's, a living in the gift of the Corporation.<sup>149</sup> His petition was refused: members may well have thought that he had timed his request somewhat tactlessly—or they may simply have had a more acceptable candidate.

The revival of the School could come only with the abolition of the unreformed Corporation, and that was to occur rather sooner than it was reasonable in 1829 to hope. But before we go on to trace this process, we must turn back and glance at the financial dealings of the Corporation with the School. Some of

these were simple and straightforward, like the regular payment of the master's and under-master's stipends and the occasional grant of a bonus, as that to Darville in 1816. Some were slightly more complicated. Among these were the transactions in connexion with the various university exhibitions, payments of which—like the elections to the scholarship and fellowship at St. John's, where there were gaps from 1793 to 1818 and from 1833 to 1865—continued somewhat intermittently during these years. Thus in December, 1812, for example, Richard Williams, a student at Oxford and a former pupil at the Grammar School, was given £5 per annum under George White's bequest and £6 per annum under Anne Snigge's, and in the following March Thomas Cross also received £6 from Anne Snigge's fund; further Snigge awards are recorded in 1826; and in 1831 William Layton, an old Grammar School boy in residence at Trinity College, Oxford, got an exhibition of £10 per annum under George White's bequest. In 1829, probably as a result of a recommendation of the Charity Commissioners, the Corporation decided to consolidate the exhibitions into two—one nominally worth £21 per annum formed out of the George White bequest and half of the Snigge and half of the Whitson awards, and another of £16 from the remainder of the Snigge and Whitson money.<sup>150</sup> A Council minute of 1822, indeed, would seem to suggest that the Whitson Exhibition fund was unusually prosperous at this time; on 11th December of that year "Mr. Aldn. Daniel as the Treasurer of Aldn. Whitson's Charity informed this House that the Funds of the said Charity being in a flourishing condition such Charity had no further occasion for the annual sum of £40 which has been for a long series of years gratuitously paid by the Corporation out of their own Funds in aid of the said Charity."<sup>151</sup> This statement, however, must be accepted with a certain reserve. Its real explanation may be that the funds of the Corporation were not themselves in a very flourishing condition.

For it is in general true that the city's finances were in a state of some confusion in these years.<sup>152</sup> The Corporation had already conducted some very strange transactions in connexion with the funds of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, and in 1827 its members applied themselves to a consideration of those of the Grammar

School. They were probably influenced by two distinct motives—the continuing financial embarrassments of the Corporation, and the doubts raised in their minds by the activities of the Charity Commissioners. In 1814 a resolution of the Council had provided that the annual rack-rents of those of the Bartholomews lands which were situated in Brislington should be paid towards the upkeep of one of the city's charitable institutions, Foster's Almshouses; and now in July, 1827, a committee was set up to review this resolution and to investigate the title of the Corporation to the Bartholomews lands.<sup>153</sup> The committee was very thorough. Its report, including copies of indentures and a schedule of leases, occupies seventy-six pages of the Council Proceedings. Whatever the attitude of the Corporation to the existence of the School and the conduct of its headmaster, this at least was in members' eyes a serious business; and indeed the outcome of these deliberations was to prove a troublesome obstacle to the re-establishment of the School in the 1840s.

The committee conducted its inquiry on historical lines, and rehearsed an account of the negotiations with Alice Pykes. It quoted Council Proceedings of 1629 to show that the master's salary of £40 and the usher's of £30 were to be paid out of the receipts from the Bartholomews lands and any other School moneys, and that any remainder of the income was to go to the use of the Mayor and Commonalty of the city; diverged from the main issue to point out that the Brislington receipts had been used for Foster's Almshouses since 1621, indiscriminately with other moneys from the Bartholomews lands, the total income from which had in 1681 amounted to £85 5s. 8d. per annum; and concluded—a trifle arbitrarily—that the entire Bartholomews property was “vested absolutely in the Corporation in fee subject to the annual payment thereout of the several sums of £40, etc. . . . for the use and maintenance of the Master and Usher of the Free Grammar School and the repairs of the School House” as directed by the Chancery Decree of 1609. Further, the Committee made the point that the Corporation had “invariably supported the Grammar School at a considerable annual sum beyond the expenditure which out of the foundation they were bound to advance.” In detail, it appeared that the Corporation had £3082 19s. 2d. in 3 per cent Consols, representing

the accumulation of moneys from the sale of timber and rack-rents at Brislington, and £1330 5s. od. in the Chamberlain's hands, a further accumulation of rack-rents and dividends on stock.

The Council accepted this report unanimously in September, 1827, and then took it into further consideration in December.<sup>154</sup> On this second occasion they "rescinded, annulled and made void" the resolution of 1814 concerning the use of the Brislington receipts, and resolved unanimously that the two sums of £3082 19s. 2d. and £1330 5s. od. mentioned in the report "be deemed and taken to be the respective proper Monies of this Corporation and be applied accordingly." They set about "applying" them without delay: a month later, in January, 1828, it was resolved that the City Seal should be fixed to a power of attorney for the sale of £3082 19s. 2d. 3 per cent Consols.<sup>155</sup> The result of this financial interlude, in short, was twofold. The Corporation had converted to its own immediate use a large sum of money from the accumulated income of the Bartholomew lands. Further, it had staked a timely claim to the ownership of the principal endowment of the Grammar School. The entire episode, taken in conjunction with the supine neglect of the School during the previous thirty years, forms an instructive commentary on the aims and methods of a city corporation in the years before the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

In April, 1832, Dr. Goodenough applied for and obtained leave to do clerical duty for an absent city incumbent "during the pleasure of this house."<sup>156</sup> A city headmaster without pupils, the absentee parson of a Buckinghamshire parish, he was peculiarly fitted to be a *locum tenens*. But the days of absentees and sinecurists of Goodenough's kind were numbered, for 1832 was the year of the Great Reform Act. England had entered the first of those periodic eras of swift and intensive reform which have characterized the last hundred and thirty years of her history. They have customarily brought with them not only decisive legislative changes, but also an extension of the area of public concern and a sharper definition of the standards of individual responsibility towards the community. This age of reform in Parliament, local government and the poor law, of successful

assaults on the penal code, negro slavery and child labour, and of the immense permeating force of the Evangelical Movement, the age of Peel and Chadwick and Shaftesbury, would not leave the Corporation of Bristol unscathed. Legislative action and a vigorous spirit of individual responsibility would create the structure and motive-power of a new civic life, the more readily and cogently because of the terrible sanctions of a revolutionary age. The Great Reform Act of 1832 had been passed under the threat of working-class revolution, and no ruling group in the country had better reason to know this than the magistrates and councillors of Bristol, who had seen their Mansion House go up in flames and narrowly escaped with their lives in the great riots of October, 1831.\*

Bristol Grammar School, like many similar schools throughout England, was a direct beneficiary of the age of reform. The old Corporation which had been so negligent a trustee for posterity was swept away, and control of the School was transferred to a body of Charity Trustees appointed by the Court of Chancery. Dr. Goodenough and his vested interest in a dead school disappeared, and the School awoke to a new life. The city of Bristol lost administrative control of Robert Thorne's school: it thereby recaptured the spirit of grammar-school education. Yet the process of constitutional change was slow. Thirteen years elapsed between the passage of the Municipal Reform Act and the opening of the resurrected school. Their story is in the main one of numerous committee meetings, of bargaining, of formal procedures, of obstructionism. Fortunately it is not entirely without humour.

It began in June, 1830, when, with the School now closed, the Corporation set up a committee to "consider of the present state" of the Free Grammar School, and, if necessary, to petition Chancery for a new scheme of government for the School. The Committee reported nine months later, and was duly instructed to petition Chancery.<sup>158</sup> We hear no more of that

\* Goodenough himself might have seemed a suitable minor target for rioters. But there is no evidence, even of broken windows. Perhaps he was in the safer atmosphere of rural Buckinghamshire. Apparently the School's only connexion with the riots occurred on the morning of Sunday, 30th October, 1831. The mob was pelting the dragoons in Denmark Street and Unity Street; and it is related that an officer of dragoons rode his horse up the steps of the Grammar School and dislodged a group of rioters who were hurling their missiles from that point.<sup>157</sup>

particular project; instead, four years afterwards, on 15th September, 1834, the Mayor and Aldermen, as visitors, were directed to "take into their consideration" the state of the said School. It was, perhaps, a little late in the day, since the School had now been closed five years. Nevertheless, they could, if they saw fit, "propose a scheme for the revision and restoration of the said School," and report the result of their deliberations "at some early meeting."<sup>159</sup> The early meeting never came. Death came upon the unreformed Corporation too soon. Extinguished by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, it held its last meeting in December of that year. So ended, in an appropriately abortive manner, the dealings of the old Corporation with the Grammar School.

The new Council, elected on the middle-class ratepayer franchise and compelled by statute to submit its accounts to regular audit, might have been expected to betray a more enlightened interest in the Grammar School; and it began well, by setting up yet another committee, of five members, to inquire into the present state of the Grammar School. To this familiar formula were added further instructions, to examine and revise the existing rates and regulations relating to the management of the School, and to report thereon to some subsequent meeting of the Council.<sup>160</sup> But this committee was overtaken by events. The Municipal Reform Act had declared that it was expedient that charitable trust funds should be kept distinct from borough funds, and in August, 1836, according to a procedure outlined in the Act, two members of the Bristol Council, James Cunningham and George Eddie Saunders, had petitioned the Lord Chancellor to appoint Charity Trustees for the city of Bristol.<sup>161</sup> In October the Court of Chancery confirmed the appointment of eighteen prominent Bristol citizens—Cunningham and Saunders among them—as Trustees of the Bristol Municipal Charities. Their responsibilities were very great, for Bristol had an unusually large and varied number of charitable institutions, and this fact may in itself be one of the reasons why the reopening of the Grammar School was so slow in taking place.

In December, 1836, the Trustees applied to the Council for all documents, deeds, moneys, and securities relating to the School,

and in February, 1837, they requested the transfer of the Bartholomews lands. Here they encountered an obstacle. The new Council had inherited the claim of the old Corporation to the ownership of these lands, and attempted to maintain it.<sup>162</sup> There followed nearly five years of dispute and litigation between the Corporation and the Trustees, until in 1842 the Court of Chancery gave judgment in favour of the latter.<sup>163</sup> One feature of the final agreement is of some direct educational interest. The property transferred included, as well as the remainder of the old Bartholomews lands, certain lands in the Redcliffe Street area of Bristol, known as Dr. Owen's lands. The money from these was to be devoted to the "provision in the Grammar School of instruction of its pupils in the Living Languages and Elements of Modern Education," as the Bartholomews lands' receipts were to be given to "Classical instruction or the dead languages." This special step was taken, it was said, in view of "the altered state of the times and the wants of the middle class of the present generation, especially in large commercial cities." It ensured that the School, when it reopened, would not be stifled by the rigidity of the old classical tradition.

One problem remained—the headmaster. Goodenough had taught no pupils since 1829. He continued to occupy his house on the School premises, and until August, 1836, he received his stipend. The new Trustees appointed in that year came quickly and reasonably to the conclusion that he was unfit to be headmaster and that there was no hope of reopening the School until they removed him. But it was Goodenough who struck the first blow in a passage of arms that lasted eight years. At a meeting of the Trustees on 17th February, 1837, it was reported that he had claimed £32 19s. 6d. as arrears of stipend to Christmas, 1836. The Trustees neatly parried this demand. They instructed their secretary to inform Dr. Goodenough that no moneys had yet come to them in respect of the Free Grammar School; and further that they had been advised by the late trustees that the entire annual resources applicable to the payment of the stipends of the Master and usher were £41 6s. 8d. only, of which £30 per annum would be payable to the Master. But they were not content with this ingenious use of precedent. At another meeting eleven days later they decided that Goodenough was to be given

notice of dismissal, to become effective on the 29th September next. This decision evoked a brilliantly bland letter from the Doctor, which was read to the Trustees at their next meeting on 14th March. He hoped that "the resolution determined upon was not so much intended to displace the Master from his present situation as to give him notice of the forming of fresh resolutions for the future government of the School," and he expressed his intention "cordially to accede" to these. This display of disingenuousness was of no avail. He received a reply that the notice was unconditional.<sup>164</sup>

It was one thing to give Goodenough notice and to cease paying his stipend: it was quite another to get rid of him. On 2nd October, 1837, it was reported to the Trustees that their solicitor had met Goodenough and requested him to surrender possession of the School premises. But Goodenough had retaliated by asking for the payment of his stipend, and by stating that he had been advised by counsel that he held office for life or during good behaviour; and he "ultimately declined to give up the possession." Thereupon the Trustees instructed their solicitor to write and tell him that they were reluctant to use compulsion, but that they would, if necessary, do so. Meanwhile they were perfectly ready to let him see the original deeds and relevant documents if he wished.<sup>165</sup> This threat was not immediately followed up. Instead, there was a prolonged suspension of hostilities. The Trustees were preoccupied with their contest with the Council over the Bartholomew properties, and they would scarcely have a case for ejecting the Doctor so long as the ownership of the School buildings themselves was in doubt. For some years the only references to Goodenough in the Grammar School minute book concern the condition of the roof of the School buildings. In November, 1838, he wrote that "the late storm" had damaged it; the Trustees ordered temporary repairs to be done, but in July, 1840, he sent his servant to complain of its dilapidated state. Apart from roofing troubles, Goodenough remained in undisturbed and comfortable occupation.<sup>166</sup>

The final stage of the campaign began with the Council's surrender in 1842 of its claims to the School properties. The way was now open, and in 1843 the Trustees decided to bring an action

for the ejectment of Goodenough. At first he seemed determined to oppose them to the last, and the case was down for trial before the Bristol assizes in the summer of 1844; then his resistance crumbled, and in August the Trustees were told that he had agreed "to surrender the School on the 29th September." He did so, and in October we find the Trustees ordering the Grammar School to be cleaned "to receive the Red Maids while their own school is painting." But Goodenough was not yet completely defeated. In June of the same year he had launched a counter-attack by petitioning Chancery for a retiring pension, arrears of salary, repayment of taxes and rates, and the cost of the petition. The Trustees opposed the petition, and in July, 1845, they won this last battle, when the court dismissed Goodenough's claim. It was the end of the Doctor's disastrous connexion with the School. In 1840 he had exchanged his Buckinghamshire living for a Warwickshire rectory, and now in 1845—conveniently enough—he was presented to the living of Broughton Poggs in Oxfordshire, which he held until his death ten years later. There was something of the insolent selfishness of the eighteenth-century gentleman about Goodenough. He had enjoyed his days in Bristol, living well and keeping a black servant, and it was his misfortune to have survived into an age of reform. The boys who to-day work in the School Library beneath the sardonic and quizzical gaze of his bust may be stimulated to reflect upon the strange courses through which the history of English grammar schools has run. It cost the Trustees over £3000 in litigation to be rid of him.<sup>167</sup>

## *Chapter IV*

### RESURRECTION: CALDICOTT AND TYNDALLS PARK

At a meeting in November, 1837, one of the Charity Trustees proposed that Parliament should be asked to repeal the Act of 1769 and so enable the Grammar School and Queen Elizabeth's Hospital once again to exchange habitations. This project seems to have been intermittently considered for some years, but ultimately the Trustees preferred to give the Hospital new buildings, and these were opened in 1847.<sup>168</sup> Since the Grammar School was now empty, a second exchange would have been even more reasonable than the first—and its results even more disastrous. A return to the Bartholomews might well have postponed indefinitely the re-opening of the traditional School. For the old site lacked both amenity and size, and although amenity still counted for little in English schools, size was one of the dominant factors in the educational development of the Victorian age. The population of the country was increasing at a rate never before known, and with it came a swiftly-increasing demand for education, particularly in the great towns and among that middle class whose needs and outlook wove the central pattern of Victorian social progress. In 1801 Bristol had 40,000 people, or 60,000 if we include its immediate suburbs; by 1841, six years after the extension of the city boundaries, the figure was 125,000, and by 1861 it had reached 154,000.<sup>169</sup> Here, in these figures, was the basic factor in the revival of Bristol's Grammar School; in areas where population grew less swiftly the grammar schools would lie dormant longer.

Moreover, Bristol, connected with London by the Great Western Railway since 1840, was prospering once again after the troubles of the first decades of the nineteenth century. It shared in the general advance in trade which came with the later 'forties. The purchase by the Corporation in 1848 of the properties of the private Dock Company and the consequent reduction

of dock charges, with its stimulus to trade, was at once a sign of recovery and a contribution to further progress. It was also a sign of new vigour and new standards in civic life. In Bristol, as in other English cities, the Victorian middle class, enfranchised by the reforms of the eighteen-thirties and inspired by the Evangelical Revival, strong in its sense of duty and brisk in its business acumen, had come to power. To provide an adequate education for its sons was a moral duty as well as a practical need. The public schools were not yet, in the late 'forties, sufficiently numerous or wholly acceptable: it would be another decade or so before the extension of railways and the leaven of Dr. Arnold had their effect. The grammar schools lay ready to hand, if their endowments and properties could be rescued and set in order after the muddle of the previous era.

At Bristol this had been done by 1844, and so the conditions of resurrection were present. Its coming, however, was slow, principally because of prolonged discussions and negotiations with the Charity Commissioners about a new scheme of government for the School. One was mooted as early as October, 1844, yet the final draft was not confirmed until June, 1847.<sup>170</sup> It provided for the admission of boys from the age of 8 years upwards, resident within the area of the city of Bristol (which was increased five-fold by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835) or within two miles of Bristol Exchange; they were to pay an admission fee of £6 and annual fees of the same amount. They were to be taught, in addition to the learned languages, mathematics, algebra, arithmetic, writing, reading, general English literature, geography, composition and profane history, and such of the modern languages, and elements of the arts and practical sciences, as the trustees should think fit to direct. The scheme also ruled—an important stipulation in the light of later events—that no master should take any scholar of the School to reside or board with him. The ultimate effect of this scheme was in some ways cramping, notably in the limitation which the fixed annual fees and the prohibition of boarders imposed upon masters' incomes, but it certainly did not discourage applications for entry. The School's reopening was advertised in the local press during 1847, and the first application, duly noted in the Trustees' minute book, came from one Samuel Tapscott in May

of that year. Others followed fast, and by the end of December 195 candidates had been admitted.<sup>171</sup>

Meanwhile the Trustees had turned to the appointment of staff. Robert Evans, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, was selected as Headmaster, and John George Gordon of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, as Second Master. In addition to a basic salary, the Headmaster was to receive thirty shillings and the Second Master twenty shillings per boy in the School up to a maximum of two hundred; and "Professors" of French and German were appointed at £30 per annum plus ten shillings per boy, in addition to four other masters. A benefactor, John Naish Sanders, offered £10 as a premium to the Head Scholar at the first public examination, provided the victor obtained a testimonial from the Headmaster of "correct moral conduct." The School was clearly ready to begin.<sup>172</sup>

It opened in January, 1848, with some 200 boys, and if number of pupils alone were the criterion success came at once, for by the end of the year 331 had been admitted.\* Inevitably, in view of the varying ages at which boys entered, there was much fluctuation during the first few years: in September, 1851, the total was down to 122, but thereafter it rose, and by the beginning of 1856 it was almost 200, remaining at or about this figure until it moved upwards again in the 'sixties. It was immediately clear that, as the Taunton Commission was to say in its report of 1869, "the importance of this school to Bristol can hardly be overlooked."<sup>173</sup>

It would be more accurate to say that its importance to a limited range of Bristol's citizens was very great. The Commission observed that a majority of the boys were the sons of "professional men, of merchants, of retired tradesmen, of clerks, and the wealthier class of shopkeepers"; that "a considerable number" were the children of "shopkeepers of the middle class"; and that only "a few" belonged to "the class of poorer shopkeepers and mechanics." Of the ten top boys in the School at the time, three were the sons of clergy or ministers, two of solicitors; the fathers of the other five were a chief clerk in the Post Office, a

\* One of the first pupils of the revived School was William Chatterton Dix, the author of "As with gladness men of old" and other hymns.

cabinet maker, a bookseller, a gentleman and—that characteristically Bristolian figure—a bonded warehouseman. This general picture was confirmed by an analysis carried out by the staff in 1871.<sup>174</sup> They found that of a total of 246 boys, 41 were the sons of "propertied persons" (28 of whom were widows—a strangely high proportion), 26 of clergy, 35 of professional men, 46 of merchants or manufacturers, and 30 of "wealthier tradesmen (not shopkeepers)"; 31 were the sons of shopkeepers, 17 of clerks, 12 of farmers, and 8 of Customs officers, lodging-house keepers and persons unclassified. The middle-class basis and function of the restored School are quite evident. Appropriately enough, the word "Free" was dropped from the title of the School in 1850.

The re-opening of the School was the work of the Charity Trustees, a group of public-spirited citizens conscious, in the manner of their age, of their duty to the community. Its re-establishment as an effective educational force was the achievement of Robert Evans and his staff. Latimer, writing thirty years later, said that "through his [Evans] learning and ability" the Grammar School "had been already raised to great estimation," and this seems a just assessment of the work of a Headmaster whose career came to an abrupt end with his death from cholera in the epidemic of 1854. We know little of him as a man. Sampson quotes a letter from one of Evans's old pupils which speaks of his "kind, pleasant face" and tells a tale of his causing a confiscated pistol to be wrapped in several sheets of brown paper and placed in a bucket of water. This suggests an unworldliness out of keeping with his age if not with his profession, and Evans had need of a good deal of worldliness in his dealings with his colleagues.<sup>175</sup>

Staffing troubles were endemic in these early years, for the assistant masters were deplorably underpaid. Even by 1867, after a new scheme of government and higher fees had been adopted, making possible somewhat larger salaries, seven of the staff of twelve were getting less than £150 a year and two more were at that figure. The School's endowment was inadequate and in March, 1851, salaries actually fell because of the "fluctuating sources of income." Masters were not allowed to take boarders, and they lived in "Clifton, where house-rent is high."<sup>176</sup> There

were other difficulties, too. In 1850 Evans wanted to dismiss a man whom the Trustees' Minutes still called "one of the ushers" for "severity" and "breaches of duty and discipline"; the offender survived for four years more but was warned that there was to be no corporal punishment without the Headmaster's leave. The same year saw a prolonged row between Gordon, the second master, and Munche, the German "professor," which came before the Trustees; it appeared that Gordon had called Munche a "dastardly scoundrel" and a "notorious liar" in the classroom of a third colleague. The boys probably enjoyed it; but Gordon seems to have had some justification, for it was his opponent who had to resign. Altogether things cannot have been easy for the Headmaster.<sup>177</sup>

Charles Hudson, the second master, who had taken temporary charge on Evans's sudden death and had, on account of the cholera, removed the School for three months to No. 3 Boyce's Buildings, Clifton,<sup>178</sup> was appointed Headmaster in 1855. Hudson, a somewhat elusive figure, the first Cambridge graduate who has become Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School since the early eighteenth century, was a man of varied interests. The product of a London grammar school, he was a Cambridge wrangler, something of an artist and musician, and a considerable scientist who later became an authority on rotifera and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.<sup>179</sup> It is not surprising that in his six years of office there were signs, though modest ones, of a widening of the School's activities. In 1856, for example, a screen was erected for lecture diagrams; and we may see the hand of Hudson as well as the growing scientific consciousness of the age in the permission granted in November, 1858, to Mr. James Phillips "to give a course of subscription lectures on Natural Philosophy, at the Grammar School, at his own risk." In other ways also Hudson was a reformer. In October, 1856, the Trustees agreed to have gas laid on in the large schoolroom. Two years later they were requesting the authorities of the University of Cambridge that their local examinations—that characteristically Victorian educational innovation—might be held in Bristol. Numbers, too, rose appreciably under Hudson. There were 158 boys at the School when he was appointed Headmaster, and

when he resigned in the summer of 1860 there were 201.<sup>180</sup> All these indications suggest that the School had securely re-established itself in the city and that it was developing effectively. Moreover, Hudson was a kindly Headmaster. The examiner who in 1858 spoke of "the spirit of kindly interest with which the discipline of the School is maintained" was paying tribute to him, as was the old boy who at a dinner in 1879 said that he "ruled the boys by love, and at no period of the School was there less chastisement than under Mr. Hudson."<sup>181</sup>

Yet Hudson's resignation in 1860 marks something of a crisis in the affairs of the School, a crisis which was no less real because it was swiftly surmounted.<sup>182</sup> Its source, so far as that lay in the domestic history of the School, was the staffing difficulty. Changes were frequent in these days when it was normal for masters who wanted an increase in salary to write to the Trustees and threaten to leave if they did not get it. In August, 1855, Hudson and the second master temporarily reduced their own salaries in order to benefit the assistant masters. But this was only tinkering with a problem whose cause was the inadequacy of the income from endowment and fees. The social assumptions of the age left no place for State aid to secondary education, a highly competitive field in which many thousands of private profit-making schools were engaged; the solution was to increase the fees, and to this end the Trustees applied their energies in 1859, making it clear that their motive was to retain and to strengthen the staff of the School. In part they were successful. A modified scheme, published in 1860, permitted the School to receive pupils up to the age of nineteen, and to charge fees on a new scale—£6 per annum for boys under 14 years of age, £8 for those between 14 and 16, £10 for those over 16. In addition, the catchment area from which the School drew its pupils was now extended beyond the limits of the city.<sup>183</sup>

But there was another, and in an educational and social sense a profounder, issue involved. Some of the Trustees wished to obtain permission to enable the School to take boarders. Others strongly condemned this proposal.<sup>184</sup> The Charity Commissioners expressed approval, but in 1860 the Master of the Rolls refused his consent. As a result, Hudson resigned and opened a private school in Clifton. It was a vital turning-point in the

School's history, a turning-point whose significance was immediately underlined by the opening of Clifton College in 1862. A curious coincidence of social factors—the expansion of railways, the success and the legend of Thomas Arnold, the vigour of Victorian evangelicalism, the accumulation of wealth by Victorian business enterprise—was stimulating in these years the foundation of boarding schools for the sons of the well-to-do. Many of the public schools emerged from the grammar schools, and in 1860 this queer process of educational evolution was still taking place: that most powerful of all its agents, Edward Thring, had spent only seven of his thirty-four years at Uppingham. The judgment of 1860 prevented such a development at Bristol. It was a judgment founded not upon equity but upon Victorian social psychology. The Master of the Rolls, Sir John Romilly, argued that boarding schools were meant for one class and day schools for another. "The existence of free grammar schools without boarders provides the necessary instruction for the lower classes of the community; the existence of free grammar schools like Eton, Harrow, and Rugby; without, or almost without free scholars, provides the necessary instruction for the sons of the higher classes of the community." No doubt other factors strengthened the decision, among them the inadequate accommodation at Unity Street, the paucity of the funds at the Trustees' disposal, and the evident hostility of many local people to the idea of transforming a day school into a boarding school. There were numerous Bristolians who agreed with the contemporary local historian George Pryce when he observed that the application to take boarders was "very properly dismissed by the Master."<sup>185</sup>

The decision of 1860 was to have important long-term results in the history of the Grammar School. It deprived the School of the potential presence of the sons of many prosperous families, in Bristol and in the west of England, who henceforward went to Clifton College. This was a loss which was easily borne in the successful years of the 'sixties and 'seventies, but which became a terrible handicap in the troubled period that followed. On the other hand, it meant that the Grammar School would one day be more easily able to open its doors to children of every class in the community, and thus become an effective part

of that national system of secondary education which came into being during the twentieth century. If Hudson and the majority of the Trustees had been victorious in 1860, the Grammar School would either have become a successful public boarding school of the traditional kind, or it would have collapsed in unequal competition with its Clifton neighbour. By contrast, it remained a city day school, playing a leading part first in the renaissance of English grammar schools and then in the democratic extension of secondary education.

To replace Hudson the Trustees selected John William Caldicott. Caldicott, who had been an Exhibitioner of Pembroke College, Oxford, and a lecturer and tutor at Jesus College, was a vigorous and self-assertive man of thirty-one, with that fierce and dutiful energy of body and spirit which marked the great Victorians. A Radical in politics, he had an acute eye for practical reforms. A masterful personality and a stern disciplinarian, he awed his pupils and dominated the Trustees. An estimate of his achievement must rest largely on a consideration of his later years at the School, with their long battle with the Charity Commissioners and the resulting transfer of the School to its present buildings at Tyndalls Park. Yet it is clear that almost from the very beginning he established a complete ascendancy over the life of the School. His régime was a dictatorship, and a dictatorship made more effective by the severity of its moral code and by the success of its policies.<sup>186</sup>

It is perhaps symbolic that within a month of his appointment "it was ordered that any pupils of the Grammar School who wished to wear the College cap might do so"; at least it is certain that there followed a series of small improvements designed to make the School more efficient in its working and appearance. New heating devices were installed, the lavatory accommodation was extended, a gas lamp was placed at the entrance to the School; a "Library of reference" was begun (for £5); a Miss Johnes agreed "to provide dinners at the Grammar School for those boys who could not find it convenient to go home to dine" (an experiment which did not last very long).<sup>187</sup> The discipline was tightened, and the new rules of 1862 made the change explicit. These were direct and emphatic. Rule 3 said "No boy

(in the Long Schoolroom) is allowed to speak to another on any pretence," and Rule 5 provided that "Talking, Idling, Neglect of work, Disturbing a class—will be punished by an Imposition." According to Rule 7, "every moral offence, such as Falsehood, Impertinence, Disobedience, will be specially reported to and punished by the Head Master." Rule 11 provided for expulsion for serious offences: and Caldicott made constant use of this rule throughout his twenty-three years in power.<sup>188</sup>

The Staff also was taken in hand. It was not long before an edict went forth that "masters were to be in their places punctually at nine o'clock and at two," and there were numerous new appointments, of which the most notable were those of the two men who did more than any others during the next thirty years to win the School its reputation for training university scholars—the mathematician, T. W. Openshaw (1864) and the classic, J. G. S. Muschamp (1868).<sup>189</sup> Much of the success of the School under Caldicott reflects his skill in selecting staff as well as his power of imposing his personality and policy upon them, and it is clear that by his later years he had collected around him a strong team. Yet he was an impatient as well as an exacting ruler. There is a story that in his last years at Tyndalls Park he used to stand in the organ loft of the Great Hall, and watch his staff conducting their classes below: when he noticed a boy who was misbehaving himself, or even one who was merely inattentive, he used to shout his name and call on the master concerned to reprimand him. It was a performance characteristic of a man who relied very heavily on his own autocratic and aggressive personality.<sup>190</sup>

One result of the advent of Caldicott was a rise in numbers, and by August, 1867, there were 240 boys in the School. It was at this time that the Endowed Schools Commissioners investigated the School, and formed a most unfavourable impression of the site and buildings, to which little had been done since the visit of the Charity Commissioners nearly half-a-century earlier. They found that the premises "are surrounded by houses and a narrow street, and, with the exception of a small court, consist of nothing besides the school buildings and head master's house." Within, things were little better. "There is a long school-room, with galleries at either end separated from it by curtains. These

galleries would make excellent classrooms if shut off altogether and warmed. Of five classrooms, four are convenient rooms, though one should more properly form the head master's study."

Access to the classrooms was inconvenient, and the desks were old. The Commissioners were under-stating the case when they said "the School must be considered full." Nevertheless, so great was the demand for places that the Trustees decided to cram more boys in by making use of the garrets on the top floor. Numbers rose still further during the 'seventies, and in March, 1875, they climbed above 300, resting at about that level during the four remaining years at Unity Street. For many years therefore the School was grossly overcrowded.<sup>191</sup>

But it is clear that the increase in numbers did not mean a decline in standards. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, a group of officials whose comments did not lack frankness, had condemned the buildings, but they expressed thorough approval of the "efficient and well-managed" teaching of the main subjects of study, Classics, Mathematics and English. It is true that they spoke unfavourably of the French teaching and of the absence of Science teaching, but they made it clear that both these deficiencies arose from lack of funds. There was a growing demand for science teaching, backed in the local press, in articles in the summer of 1867, on the grounds of its vocational superiority to Latin and Greek and of the deficiencies revealed in British manufactures at the Paris Exhibition of that year. In fact Caldicott had already suggested to the Trustees the extension of "the education of the boys in respect to Modern Languages and the Sciences," and in the following year Science teaching made its tentative appearance in the curriculum, when Mr. James Phillips was permitted, for one quarter, to give "Lectures and Instruction in Scientific Subjects." These were a voluntary extra: boys who attended were charged five shillings a quarter, and their fees were collected separately.

The curriculum at this period was typical of the more efficient contemporary grammar schools. Orthodox in its emphasis on Classics and Mathematics, the great intellectual disciplines of the nineteenth century, it gave a good deal of attention to English. Each boy did at least one English essay every month. The top class in French read Michelet's *Jeanne d'Arc*. If the schedule

drawn up by the Endowed Schools Commissioners is comprehensive, the work done in History brought little risk of being biased by contemporary politics, for it stopped at the Wars of the Roses; but one of the examiners' reports suggests that at least the earlier Hanoverian reigns received some attention. Geography was limited to Europe, Africa, and "Pillan's *Ancient Geography*, the whole." It is a matter of some interest that the entire School studied "Mixed Drawing."<sup>192</sup>

The central event of the School's calendar in these years was the examination conducted every summer by external examiners specially appointed for the purpose. It was a prolonged and thorough business, lasting several days and covering the entire School, and it concluded with a public reading of the examiners' reports and a distribution of prizes by the Mayor or some other eminent personage. The reports and the Prize Day proceedings received ample treatment in the local press, and they throw a good deal of light not only on the progress of the School but also on the aims and attitudes of nineteenth-century educationists. Most of the examiners were dons: one at least, J. E. Thorold Rogers, who conducted the examination in 1869 and for a number of succeeding years, was a scholar of great distinction. The principal subjects of examination were Classics and Mathematics; English, Modern Languages, such Modern History and Geography as were studied, and even Divinity were all treated as subsidiaries.<sup>193</sup>

The examination was instituted in 1850, and for the first ten years there were a good many hints that all was not well with the elementary classical teaching. The examiner in 1855 observed that "there is generally a deficiency in the Grammatical knowledge of the School." His successor two years later no doubt went to the heart of the matter when he spoke of the "difficulty of enlisting the continuous attention of little boys, especially to the dry rudiments of grammar," and in 1858 the report referred to the difficulties caused by including in the same class "boys who *do* wish to devote time and pains to such studies with boys who *do not*." More sternly, the boys were told in 1860 that "they must be content to relinquish some of the lighter branches of study, and to devote themselves more entirely to those very

dry, but most necessary books, the Greek and Latin Grammars." After 1860 there was less criticism of the work in Classics; but it is not wholly possible to separate this from the fact that the examiner appointed for 1861 and the four following years, C. E. Oakley, was an enthusiastic friend of Caldicott and commended him to the boys as one who would do all that was possible to give them "a lifelong love of learning, order, modesty, and truth." Yet Oakley was far from kind to the Mathematics of the School in 1861, saying that the boys "gave up" problems, and that they confused Arithmetical and Algebraic, and Algebraic and Geometrical, methods, and complaining of inaccuracy and overcrowded writing. Next year, although he praised some boys for their Conic Sections, he attacked a tendency to crowd "as many solutions as possible on one piece of paper."

The 'sixties saw all-round academic progress. In 1863 Oakley noted an improvement in classical composition; discovered two boys in the second Mathematical class who went "a little out of the beaten track into a more modern, delicate, and recondite branch of Arithmetic," namely, Synthetic Division; and even found, from his inquiries into the Geography and Modern History, that the boys had "an intelligent appreciation of the great truths of natural and moral and political science." E. H. Hansell, the examiner who succeeded Oakley, was, it is true, rather more sceptical, indicating politely in 1866 that the work in Classics could be "not indeed less full but less diffuse"; but he paid tribute to the energetic industry of the School, saying, "I have examined many schools. I have never examined one where more work was done at the examination." Thereafter the examiners' reports are consistent in their praise of the work in the two principal subjects, Classics and Mathematics, praise which was amply confirmed by the School's growing list of university awards and distinctions. There were, however, weaknesses in other branches of study, and from 1869 onwards Thorold Rogers exposed these. Spelling was not always good; as he said, "this carelessness is very culpable." Certain forms "in which a good many boys linger" were usually weak and sometimes not well-behaved. In 1871 "as usual, the proficiency of the boys in Divinity is very unequal." The newly-introduced Science classes were criticized because all boys, whatever their age, were

taught the same, and thus he had not found "either great breadth or accuracy of scientific knowledge."

The examiners did not content themselves with commenting on the intellectual progress of those whom one of them called his "patients"; they would have been less than Victorian had they refrained from linking intellect with character. One of them was happy to find the boys "actuated by no envious jealousy but by a fair spirit of emulation which is not above rejoicing at the success of a worthy opponent"; another found "manliness and authority in their treatment of their superiors." Once Oakley was concerned about a "failure in home influences to foster and support the discipline of the School," which he regarded as peculiarly important "at a time like the present": the year, scarcely a peculiarly dark one in our annals, was 1862. Naturally enough, most of them took the opportunity to air their views on education, and indeed on life. Sometimes these were local in their aim, as when the Mathematical examiner of 1854 demanded "the liberality of Benefactors for sending the flower of the School to the great seats of learning." Sometimes they were topical, as in 1864 when Oakley, with an ear for current religious controversy, praised "those who value the whole Bible as indeed the word of God," or in 1867, when another examiner, surely thinking of Disraeli and the second Reform Act, spoke of the general public as "so rightly jealous of chicanery and so clear-sighted as to facts"; or in 1874 when Thorold Rogers thought that "they had a little too much of Government at the present time." They pontificated readily. "History," observed the examiner in 1868, "is not intended to cram the mind with dates and names, but to grant from the experience of the Past, wisdom to the Present." French, said Thorold Rogers in 1869, is "a language henceforth indispensable to a gentleman, a savant, or a commercial man."

But Prize Day was neither wholly oratorical nor wholly serious, as the local press reveals.<sup>194</sup>

The meeting was held in the large schoolroom, which was very tastefully decorated for the occasion with bannerets, chaplets and festoons of flowers, ferns, evergreens, and trophies of flags. Above the temporary platform used as a stage by the

boys for their performances appeared the inscription, in massive letters of gold, "God save the Queen," this being surrounded with floral crowns, stars and other decorations. The galleries at either end of the room were occupied by ladies, and beneath these, on a raised platform, were "the boys," who for half an hour before the opening of the proceedings kept up a regular "commemoration clamour," interspersed with a running fire of cheers and hand-clapping.

The dignitaries, from the Mayor downwards, received a welcome which it is charitable to describe as boisterous; they were clapped or hissed according to their reputation, and if gentlemen entered with their hats on, the entire school set up a shout of "Hats off." It is not entirely surprising that in 1873, for example, the Mayor failed to appear, on the plea that he had to go to London to meet the Shah of Persia. When what a contemporary paper called "the juvenile portion of the auditory" had subsided, the formal proceedings took place. The examiners read their reports, the boys received their prizes and certificates—which were astonishingly numerous—several Trustees made speeches, the senior examiner responded, the Headmaster read a list of university and other honours and made a speech, and the boys gave hearty cheers for him, for the examiners and for any other dignitaries who happened to be present. It was a full and, one would have thought, an exhausting programme.

But it was not all. There customarily followed an entertainment, consisting of a series of recitations and songs given by groups of boys. Recitations normally came from the classical drama of English, French, German, Latin, and Greek. Those of 1869, for example, included passages from Molière's *Le Malade Imaginaire* and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus*, Schiller's *Wallenstein*, Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, Aristophanes's *The Knights*, and Foote's *Mayor of Garratt*. The songs were appreciably less classical, with such popular pieces as "All among the Barley" and "Here's a Health to all Good Lasses" among them, doubtless intended to enable the audience, and especially its "juvenile portion," to let off steam at the end of an arduous day.<sup>185</sup> The corporate activities of the mid-Victorian grammar school may have been limited in their range,

when compared with those of later years. They did not lack intensity.

On Prize Day in 1859 the Headmaster, Hudson, mentioned that the School now had a gymnasium and that attention was directed to fives and cricket; and he expressed a hope that they would soon win honours in boating. "At the close of the ceremony a prize of a pair of foils was contended for at the broad-sword exercise, and was won by Hewlett." This suggests the beginning of a games tradition, whatever we may think of the slight Highland flavour imparted by the broad-swords. But the era of team games was only just dawning, and they seem to have mattered little to the boys at Unity Street. There was a playground of 561 square yards; and also what came to be known as the "Fives" wall, on the other side of which lay the premises of the importers of Bristol Milk. Beyond this modest space, the Grammar School had no facilities for organized games. Those of its boys who took their pugilism seriously went to "the boskey dells of Brandon Hill, not far away," and those who wanted to play football or cricket, to the Downs; in the latter activities, at least, a few of the masters joined. Fives matches were played against two or three private schools in the 'sixties; the home court was "a great stumbling block to visitors." The Trustees did little to encourage games, though in May, 1867, they went so far as to order "that a tent should be purchased for the use of the Grammar School Cricket Club." It was a sound Victorian assumption that if the boys wanted to play games they would organize them for themselves in their own time and fashion.<sup>196</sup>

The one sporting occasion of the School's calendar at this time was the whole-day outing to New Passage, originally organized in 1864 at the invitation and cost of the kindly Quaker, George Thomas, who was then Chairman of the Trustees. The excursion, which took place in several years, was as much a social as a sporting event. The whole School left at 9.45 a.m. and caught the 8.30 p.m. train back. The party, which included Trustees, staff and old boys, sometimes numbered 300. They had "a capital spread" or, as it was described in 1869, "an excellent dinner in a new tent, obtained specially for the occasion from

London"; in that year, too, they had croquet and a band. Usually the afternoon was given up to sports for prizes. These prizes, which were subscribed for by the boys and which therefore in Caldicott's opinion indicated a growth of public spirit, included a remarkable array of objects, among them cups, photographic albums, opera glasses, "handsome pocket knives," cricket bats, silver pencil cases, sets of boxing gloves, telescopes, dressing cases, and even pocket flasks. George Thomas died in 1869, and the outings ceased after the following year, but the tradition of the sports continued.<sup>197</sup>

"Out-of-school activities," in the curious modern meaning of that phrase, were limited, principally by the instinctive individualism of the times. The School day, indeed, was not excessively long: in 1862 Caldicott fixed the winter hours at 9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. and 2 to 4 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, and 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Wednesdays and Saturdays. But most of the boys were relatively young: the Endowed Schools Commissioners found that 155 of the 240 were under 14 years old and only twenty over 16. An increasing number of the older ones, too, were sitting for the university local examinations, to preparing them for which, so the Commissioners said, each master gave an hour a day "out of school time." The holidays, however, grew longer during these years at Unity Street. In December, 1848, the Trustees "considered eight weeks holiday in the year sufficient, to be divided in conformity with the wishes and convenience of the Master"; the eight were in fact divided into three at Christmas and five "at midsummer." Twenty years later the School was working for forty weeks in the year. The official holidays were still only Christmas and summer, though there was certainly a break at Easter, and there were occasional bonuses, like that day in 1873 which the petition of some old boys secured on the occasion of the Bristol Regatta, or the ten summer days in 1875, doubtless very welcome, which were given because the British Association was meeting in Bristol and using the School buildings. Not until 1878 did the School begin to have three holidays in the year, at the seasons which have since become customary.<sup>198</sup>

Military training at school was still, in this peaceful era, a thing of the future, although one of Caldicott's first steps in 1860 was

to permit boys to enrol in the Cadet Corps then being formed in connexion with the Bristol Rifle Corps.<sup>199</sup> Science was quite another matter. Not only did it force its way into the curriculum. It was clearly the subject of much interest among the boys and their parents, as was demonstrated one summer evening in 1869, when a soirée was given by "the pupils of the School who study natural science under the able tuition of Mr. J. Phillips." It was a success.

A considerable space was occupied by the friends and relatives of the pupils who were invited to be present. A number of interesting experiments were performed in chemistry, the science of heat, electricity, and electromagnetism. The exhibition of electric light formed a feature of the programme, and nearly all the experiments, which, with one or two exceptions, were performed by the boys, were of an attractive nature.

There were at this time some eighty boys studying science. By the side of this stimulating enterprise it seems a small thing to record that all boys were permitted to use the newly-established library at a charge of 2s. 6d. per quarter.<sup>200</sup>

The seamy side of the School's life was real enough, despite—or perhaps because of—the stringency of Caldicott's rule. The punishments in normal use were impositions, detention, extra school, and "caning, very rarely, in private." The Commissioners were told that all these, except impositions, were inflicted by the Headmaster alone, but old boys with memories of the time have spoken with feeling of the severity with which Openshaw, the second master, used the "whack" on their hands. "We used," says one, "to place the palms of our hands upon the cold stone floor of the passage" to mitigate the stinging pain. The perpetual setting of impositions aroused occasional public protest in an age which paid high regard to good handwriting. Correspondents in the local press, among them an old boy, alleged that pupils of the Grammar School were often unsuccessful in applications for commercial posts because their writing was bad, and that the source of the trouble was the large number of impositions, which led to scribbling; but another old boy challenged this "grave and unfounded onset on the respected English masters," and

maintained that a more frequent punishment was to impart to memory passages of classical prose or poetry.<sup>201</sup>

There can be no doubt that the boys of the School were repressed under Caldicott's vigilant eye. The curious architecture of the Unity Street buildings offered some interesting possibilities of petty crime. The galleries, for example, were approached by steps, and the steps were removable—and were sometimes removed by a class which departed before its teacher. . But in general discipline was rigorously kept at school. "Moral" offences brought drastic retribution. In 1868 a boy took a book from another's desk and sold it at a second-hand bookshop: he was expelled and an edict went forth that boys were not to enter second-hand bookshops "unless accompanied by some responsible person or sent by the express command of their parents." Others in these years suffered the same fate for truancy, for disobedience and falsehood, for "persistency in filthy conversation," and for passing spurious coin. Expulsion was in theory a last resort, but Caldicott was not the man to shrink from extremes. His frequent use of them, was, of course, not wholly uncharacteristic of his age.<sup>202</sup>

There was occasional press criticism of the régime. A local paper of 1872 contained a revealing letter under the heading "Punishment in School," in which the writer said—

Is it that civilization has attained to such perfection that it is a punishable offence for boys to cough in the presence of a constable? Eight boys at the Bristol Grammar School were caned for the said offence (very severely, for one of them fainted), or for throwing snowballs on a previous day at an interferer in their game, who afterwards proved to be the aforesaid constable. The magistrates refused to summon them for so paltry an offence, whereupon the detective applied to the headmaster to have the boys punished. Was he justified in complying with the request?

The writer signed himself "An Eye-Witness of the Wales" and enclosed his card. It is scarcely surprising, either, that boys reacted violently outside the School. In 1877, "three respectable lads, scholars at the Bristol Grammar School, were charged with maliciously damaging the public gas lamps, the property of the

Bristol Gas and Light Company." They had used catapults, not only against the gas lamps, but also against a cab and a gentleman on a horse. It was unfortunate, too, that these boys lodged with a master of the School, and the poor man had to appear to give them as good characters as were possible in the circumstances. Altogether it was a deplorable affair, and they were each fined £1 and costs; it is revealing to note that, as the magistrate told them, they could have been given two months' imprisonment with hard labour. The case was possibly exceptional; yet it is a reminder not only that there were areas of conduct where even Caldicott's writ did not run, but also that hooliganism was an endemic problem of Victorian life.<sup>203</sup>

By 1877, the year of this unhappy episode, the prospects of the School were brighter than they had been at any time in the 350 years of its recorded history. Important legislation had offered new prospects to the endowed schools. Caldicott and the Trustees had fought and won a prolonged battle for the status of the School in the new educational dispensation. Bristol Grammar School not only had a new and less restrictive scheme of government. New school buildings were rising on the clear site of Tyndalls Park, removed from the crowded alleys and heavy atmosphere of the Unity Street district, and within two more years these would be occupied. A new era in its history was about to open.

The story of its approach begins with the appointment in 1864 of the Taunton Commission, a product of that brief mid-Victorian period when every part of the structure of English education, from university to elementary school, was subjected to official investigation. The task of the Taunton Commissioners was to inquire into all those thousands of schools which neither the Newcastle Commission on Elementary Education nor the Clarendon Commission on the nine great Public Schools had touched. In practice their main concern was with the Endowed Schools of ancient foundation, and the reports of the Commissioners, that series of thick volumes which is a quarry of information about the state of secondary education in early Victorian England, provided the evidence upon which the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 was based. This Act, more

limited in scope than either the proposals of the Commissioners themselves or the bill originally introduced by the Liberal government in that year, was nevertheless a measure of far-reaching and revolutionary significance. Overshadowed both by Forster's Act of the following year and by the Balfour Act of 1902, it has fallen into unjustified oblivion. It was the first effective piece of government intervention in the field of secondary education. It rescued from neglect and decay great numbers of grammar schools, and, by reinvigorating them with the funds of hitherto wasted and misapplied endowments, it gave new life to the English tradition of local and corporate responsibility for the advancement of learning. Thereby it ensured that the main stream of secondary education would be under the control of the community, rather than a source of private profit; and that it would one day be possible to open grammar schools to all children of appropriate ability whatever their economic circumstances. Moreover, it was the grammar schools reformed by this Act that were to set standards of achievement for those created by the Balfour Act. So far as the concept of universal secondary education means the full provision of grammar-school education for all children who can profit by it, the pedigree of the Butler Act of 1944 may be traced through the Balfour Act to the Endowed Schools Act of 1869.

Its main features were two. It set up Endowed Schools Commissioners who were empowered to make new schemes of government for the majority of endowed schools, schemes which would ensure the full and effective use of all endowments attached to the schools; and it also provided that the funds of non-educational charities could be transferred to educational purposes, given the approval not only of the Charity Commissioners but also of the governors of the charities concerned. It was cautious in its details. Many schools were exempted on various grounds: schools with an income from endowment of more than £1000 per annum were permitted in the first place to make their own new schemes; procedure was to be cumbrous rather than hasty, with every opportunity given for consultation of all interests and for appeal both to the Privy Council and to the opinion of Parliament. But its range was wide, for it concerned between two and three thousand institutions with

endowments whose total annual income was nearly £600,000, of which some £340,000 was applicable to educational institutions.<sup>204</sup> Such a measure was certain to affect Bristol very intimately, for it was a city with numerous charities, some of them virtually derelict, and with a group of educational endowments of which the Grammar School was only the most celebrated.

Proceedings began in the city in March, 1870, with the visit of J. G. Fitch, one of Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners of Endowed Schools, to meet the Charity Trustees.<sup>205</sup> Thereafter followed a prolonged and furious controversy in which the local press, divided mainly but not wholly on party lines, played a leading part. There was much local opposition both to the Act and to the particular proposals made by Fitch, arising from a variety of sources in addition to Tory dislike of a Liberal measure. Bristol had so many charities that any change was bound to evoke hostility from some group of vested interests. The redistribution of charities involved in Fitch's original scheme seemed likely to benefit the schools of the middle class at the expense of the endowments of the poor; as one writer put it, "the intention of those bashaws, the Endowed Schools Commissioners, is to prostitute these noble charities and appropriate their incomes to the education of the middle class."<sup>206</sup> Local dislike of centralized administration, mingled with provincial distaste for Londoners' schemes, was very strong. Those responsible for the management of the schools were jealous of any invasion of their independence; and for the Grammar School in particular there was a dread of loss of status, a point about which Caldicott was peculiarly sensitive. The whole dispute provides an admirable example of the practical working of that unique historical institution, the democratic oligarchy of the Victorian middle-class.

So far as the Grammar School was concerned, the Trustees took action, though negative action, before Commissioner Fitch appeared. In August, 1869, Caldicott gave them his views on the effect of the Endowed Schools Act, and in January, 1870, they decided not to exercise their privilege of framing any new scheme for the School—a policy which they adopted towards all the schools under their management. Fitch, having met the Trustees in March, published the Commissioners' plans in April.

Their proposals were, in brief, to throw all the local endowments into one fund and out of this to create schools of three distinct grades—the first to train children for the universities and learned professions, the second to educate for “practical life,” and a third which would be little better than elementary in grade. There were to be no boarders, but there was to be no free schooling; Fitch observed that “there is no point connected with schools on which the testimony of experienced persons is more uniform or emphatic than the ill effect of gratuitous education independent of merit.” In fact, as he frankly admitted, the weight of Bristol’s endowments was to be shifted from charity for the poor to the creation of middle-class schools. The redistributed funds were to provide new buildings, scholarships, and girls’ schools. These general proposals got a bad press in Bristol. For intervals during the remainder of 1870 the papers attacked Fitch more or less strongly, while the Commissioner himself held meetings with a great number of interested parties, including the city councillors, elementary school teachers, workmen’s deputations, “the ladies of Clifton” and the clergy of the rural deanery. One interesting point emerged from the discussions—that the Grammar School was the poorest of the four Bristol Schools involved (the other three being Queen Elizabeth’s, Colston’s, and the Red Maids’) but did the largest amount of educational work, four-fifths of the money of the other three being spent on charity.<sup>207</sup>

In November the Athenaeum Debating Society voted by a large majority “that Mr. Fitch’s scheme for altering the Bristol Charity Schools is highly objectionable,” and the *Times and Mirror*, the most violently anti-Fitch of the local papers, inveighed furiously against him. It alleged that he “has such power to overturn and confiscate as no one man has been armed with here since Fiennes or Prince Rupert had possession of the place,” and it took advantage of contemporary events to declare that “we are awaiting our fate [as] a conquered French town might be supposed to wait the decision of its German conquerors.”<sup>208</sup> Fitch, however, was a man of action rather than of extravagant historical parallels, and in December he produced a tentative scheme for the Grammar School. It was to be a “first-grade” school for 300 boys aged from 10 to 18, with fees ranging

between ten and fifteen guineas per annum. A new site was to be found. This

should not be too near to Clifton College, but should rather seek to be accessible, first to the citizens of Bristol, and next to the large population residing in Redland and Cotham. The probability of a railway station in the Whiteladies' Road should also be considered, especially with a view to the convenience of pupils who may come from Bath and intermediate places. It is suggested that a site not far from Tyndalls Park would best fulfil all these requirements.

To meet the cost the Peloquin Gifts, a fund originally founded by Mrs. Mary Ann Peloquin in 1768 for poor men and women "all to be free of Bristol and Housekeepers" and by this time largely unused, were to be employed. There were to be boarders, twenty-five free scholars, and a number of exhibitioners drawn from lower-grade and, possibly, elementary schools. Modern Languages and Science were to be studied as well as Classics. "The School would thus be enabled to make a career for itself essentially different from that of the great public schools for the richer classes, of which Clifton College is so successful an example." It was to share one governing body in common with the other non-Anglican Bristol endowed schools.<sup>209</sup>

This in most ways foreshadowed the eventual reality. But it received a hostile welcome, partly because it was one section of a general Bristol scheme that contained other unacceptable features. The *Times and Mirror* fulminated for months against "a plan which has given universal dissatisfaction," complaining about the attempt to experiment in Bristol with Matthew Arnold's "new-fangled notions" from Germany, the U.S.A., and (a little unkindly) "Scotland," and hitting out at "bureaucratic despotism" and "star-chamber powers." There was much more intelligent and enlightened criticism in letters to the local press drawing attention to the "Clifton bias," and protesting against the new site which was intended to serve the "mansions and costly villas of Cotham and Redland"; this last statement drew an acutely factual reply from Caldicott, who pointed out that the majority of the School's pupils already lived in Redland, Cotham, Kingsdown, and Clifton. The attitude of the Trustees

was more relevant than that of the press and its correspondents, and they were not enthusiastic. Perhaps they were moved by local patriotism, perhaps they felt a little nettled by Fitch's over-sharp distinction between the Grammar School and Clifton; whatever the reason, they demurred about the site, about the necessity for a move, about the cost of the move—none of them, in the circumstances, very convincing objections.<sup>210</sup>

Yet they, like Mr. Fitch, were practical men. They set surveyors to work to present estimates of the cost of moving; and in May, 1871, they drew up an alternative scheme of their own.<sup>211</sup> It differed little from Fitch's. The fees were lower, ranging from £8 to £12, the age-range wider, from 8 to 19. There were more limited proposals about the exhibitors and free scholars, suggesting the grant of £15 per annum to eight day boys and £40 per annum to one orphan as a boarder. The boarding arrangements should be run by individual masters or there should be a "hostelry" erected for the purpose. The governing body was to be differently constituted. The gap between the two schemes seems small to-day; but it was wide enough to win the general approval of the local press for the Trustees' plan, and to postpone a final settlement for a period not of months but of years. In June the Trustees sent a deputation to London to meet the Commissioners, and in August the *Western Daily Press* reported that the latter had abandoned their own scheme and accepted that of the Trustees. The *Press* acclaimed a victory for the Trustees, a triumph for Bristol over the sinister centralizers of the metropolis.<sup>212</sup>

In fact, much hard bargaining lay ahead which it would be tedious to trace stage by stage. There were several smaller difficulties to be overcome, among them the claim of the Grammar School masters to be represented on the governing body, which the Commissioners were reluctant to grant and which Caldicott vigorously upheld. There was a handful of Trustees who were last-ditchers, hostile to the Commissioners to the end. There were political possibilities involved, stimulated by the parliamentary decline of the Liberals in the early 'seventies and the advent of Disraeli's Conservative ministry in 1874; in the spring of 1873 the Trustees awaited with interest the result of a Commons motion against a new scheme of government for

Emanuel School, but their hopes of its rejection were vain. There was a rumour about the same time that Caldicott had turned down the offer of the headmastership of "a large and important proprietary college." But the central issue was the question of the use of non-educational endowments for the purpose of creating what would undoubtedly be a school for middle-class boys. Local opinion continued to feel strongly on this point, with complaints about the misuse of Mrs. Peloquin's money and objections to financing "a collegiate institution for wealthy tradesmen's sons." No final decision could be reached under the terms of the Act of 1869, until the Charity Trustees consented to the transfer of endowments.<sup>213</sup>

Eventually, in December, 1873, they yielded. Three factors probably influenced them. The Grammar School had never been more successful and popular than in these years, when a local paper described it as "constantly and deservedly growing in popularity and importance." Its future would be secured, would indeed hold very bright prospects under the new proposals. And the new site up on the hill, once mooted, was too attractive to be relinquished. So, at the end of nearly four years' negotiations, they accepted the principle of the transfer of non-educational endowments. In January, 1874, the Endowed Schools Commissioners sent down their final schemes. It took a little longer to settle details, but in August the Trustees finally accepted the Grammar School scheme, which came into force a year later—despite the protest of their Chairman who resigned from the Board, declaring that he had "a decided objection to in any way assist." The new scheme, while basically similar to that propounded by Fitch in December, 1870, was a compromise. The Commissioners had created their "first grade" school and made barren endowments fertile, but had given way about boarders, the composition of the governing body, and numerous other details; the Trustees had a new site and the prospect of new buildings for the Grammar School, but had yielded over the charitable endowments.<sup>214</sup>

The settlement was a triumphant expression of the Victorian practice of individualism, restrained and guided by limited State intervention. It was also, in its way, a personal triumph for Caldicott, a Radical who had known when to resist reform, a

man of the world who had known when to yield. At the Speech Day of 1874 the boys of the School had marked his achievement of his Doctorate of Divinity by presenting him with a silver claret jug inscribed in Latin; an odd token of such an occasion, one feels, but no doubt they knew their man. He was dressed in his robes of scarlet, and "looked remarkably well in them, and every inch a D.D."<sup>215</sup> Next year he was able to make a victory speech, talking of "the conclusion, the successful conclusion, of the arduous struggle in which for six years this School has been engaged" with the Endowed Schools Commission.<sup>216</sup> The records make it clear that Caldicott had guided and advised the Trustees throughout this struggle, and it is an episode in which he appears at his vigorous best. It was his right as well as his good fortune to be the first headmaster at Tyndalls Park.

Four years passed before the School moved into its new home. Tyndalls Park was at that time an open area, with relatively few houses nearby, and there was no university yet, much less the great tower which to-day dominates the head of Park Street. It was, as Mr. Fitch had observed, in several ways an excellent site, just over five acres in extent, standing high and clear, healthier than the crowded district of Unity Street and accessible to the areas in which the middle-class citizens of Bristol were now building their homes. Its purchase—for nearly £14,000—was sanctioned late in 1875, and soon the Governors of the School were immersed in the practical problems of planning and constructing the new buildings. They were Governors now, not Charity Trustees, for one of the results of the new scheme was a minor constitutional revolution. Henceforward the School was to be managed by a Board of Governors consisting of the Municipal Trustees and six other persons, two of whom were appointed by the Bristol School Board, two by the Bristol City Council, one by the masters on the permanent staff of the Grammar School, and one by the masters and mistresses on the permanent staffs of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital and the Red Maids School.<sup>217</sup>

They obtained formal possession of the site in April, 1876, and set to work at once, obtaining plans and tenders, arranging for the laying of drain pipes, the analysis of samples of the iron

ore found on the site (unhappily it would not pay for removal), the planting of a hedge of yew trees at £56 5s. od., and the inspection of "Haden's combined warm water and warm air apparatus," the mysteries of which were revealed to them by Mr. Haden in person. If the grass on the new site had not been let, it was recommended to "grant the use of the same to the boys for a cricket field": but it was later found that the turf had been much damaged by cattle grazing.<sup>218</sup> In the midst of all this busy preparation the laying of the foundation stone took place, without any public ceremony, on 10th June, 1877. Caldicott opened proceedings with a prayer, and then Herbert Thomas, Chairman of the Governors, laid the stone, in whose cavity were placed copies of *The Times* and of the Bristol newspapers and a parchment document containing an account of the ceremony. Several governors made apposite speeches, expressing confidence in the future of the School; one of them, a little obscurely, compared the struggle of the preceding years with the siege of Troy; Caldicott spoke briefly, congratulating Bristol on its good fortune on being about to have such a place of education in its midst, and gave the boys a day's holiday. The local press, with inspired accuracy, prophesied that it would be about two years before the building was completed.<sup>219</sup>

The operation proceeded with reasonable rapidity. The plan of the new School was basically simple. There was to be one main building, with its entrance on the north side; the ground floor was to contain entrance hall, headmaster's room, masters' common-room, and eight class-rooms, each averaging about 20 feet square; the upper floor would form one great school-room, 140 feet long, 50 feet broad, 50 feet high, lighted by tracery windows at sides and end and by an oriel window in its transept. The style was to be that "prevalent in England in the time of the founder," Robert Thorne, and the stone to be local stone from Brandon Hill. In addition to the main school building there was to be "a commodious residence for the headmaster" and a porter's lodge; a second master's house, with accommodation for boarders, was also envisaged (but never in fact built). Despite the grant from the charity endowments, it was judged prudent to launch an appeal for funds in the local press during 1878. The new building evoked the first of those architectural

benefactions that have done so much to create the present fabric: the High Sheriff (W. H. Wills) and the Mayor "proposed undertaking" the oriel window, and Messrs. Bell and Co. offered a painted window for the main staircase. The entire enterprise, site, buildings and equipment, cost almost £40,000.<sup>220</sup>

Sundry revealing items began to appear in the minutes. A dado and cupboards of pitch pine in the great schoolroom cost £188. The roof was to be of Baltic red deal, but pitch pine had to be substituted. In August, 1878, the Governors' committee authorized the spending of £3 on "cutting quirks on the Ground floor of the headmaster's house"; in November, £7 10s. od. on "wine-bins, etc." for the headmaster's house. Four hat and umbrella stands cost £34, and the headmaster's chair no less than £28.\* Nineteen blackboards were bought for £30 8s. od., and nineteen masters' tables for £3 apiece; and 400 china inkwells at 1s. 3d. a dozen. April, 1879, saw a comforting entry: "To Stuffing Masters' seats, etc., £11 3s. od. There were economies, of course—nine gas pendants instead of the original nineteen, and in the porter's lodge, gas was laid on "for use in the kitchen and sitting room only."<sup>221</sup>

Meanwhile, amid all the excitement and minutiae of the building and equipping, the School flourished in the last of its 112 years at Unity Street. Numbers remained high, and its academic reputation had never been better. During the four last years in the old buildings two O.B.s (R. D. Hicks and R. C. Rowe) were elected Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a third (T. Bowman) became a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford; a future Principal of Brasenose (C. H. Sampson) was awarded a School university scholarship; and in April, 1878, the Governors granted the boys two days' holiday in recognition of the fact that former pupils of the School had that year won both the University Mathematical Scholarships at Oxford, thus completing six successive years in which either the first or second place in one or both of these notable awards had gone to O.B.s. In less distinguished ways, too, the School was developing. Rules were laid down for the conduct of masters' boarding houses, the number of which was increasing. The wearing either of a straw

\* The chair is now in the Great Hall.

hat with the School ribbon or of an appropriate cap became obligatory. The boys themselves demanded class singing, and Caldicott had consented to establish it. There were difficulties as well. One of the staff, a High Churchman, got into trouble because of his biased religious teaching; and all were reprimanded because some "have solicited and have received as private pupils, pupils of the School." A mild press correspondence followed Caldicott's seizure of election cards from the boys; one parent was pleased, because "boys cannot do their work if their attention is distracted by matters about which they cannot know anything." But Caldicott took all these things in his stride.<sup>222</sup>

The great day of the official opening of the new School came at last, on 17th May, 1879, although the boys had been in active occupation since February.<sup>223</sup> Appropriately, W. E. Forster, the architect of the Endowed Schools Act and of the great Education Act of 1870 and the outstanding educational statesman of the century, was invited to carry out the ceremony. In what he described as "the finest schoolroom I ever was in—so beautiful, so simple, and so commodious," he made a speech at once graceful and forthright. He offered a prize for an essay on "England at present as compared with England on 17th May, 1532"; he attacked the public schools, alleging that they spent too much time in play, and he criticized his brother-in-law Matthew Arnold's idea of State secondary schools, saying that he hoped they would never come into being in England. He wanted to see "each locality becoming alive to what it had to do," and he spoke in favour of widening working-class entry to the School by the increase of open exhibitions. Forster's address and the ceremonial opening were followed by a presentation to Caldicott by the old boys. The same evening there was a "recherché banquet" at the Royal Hotel, when a further presentation to Caldicott took place, of the two portraits which now hang in the Great Hall of the School, one of himself and the other of Mrs. Caldicott and their two children; these were subscribed for by governors, masters, and pupils. This second presentation was a tribute not only to Caldicott's work for the Grammar School but also to the role he played, as a Radical member of the Bristol School Board, in promoting elementary schools in the city. Fittingly, it was Caldicott's great hour.

The day's festivities were not quite complete. An evening *conversazione* took place in the great schoolroom at the School, which the local press reported in magniloquent style.

The room had been made further attractive with banks of choice exotic plants of luxuriant growth, from the nursery of Mr. D. Baskerville, of Queens Road, who lined the vestibule and corridors with banks of foliage and flowers eight or ten feet high; tall coniferae at the back being faced with cycas palms, ferns, dracenas, rhododendrons, and camellias, margined by delicate specimens of spiraea and other plants. The grand entrance and staircase and corridors had been carpeted, and the walls of the staircase tastefully draped with rich cloth, by Messrs. Smith and Co. of Augustine's Parade. A choir of selected voices from the schoolboys, led by the Rev. M. Burnett, gave a pleasing programme of music in the large room. Tea was served in the basement. The laboratory and lecture-room was fitted up with a collection of scientific apparatus, including microscopes, spectroscopes, electric lamps, etc., and here the natural science master, Mr. J. Phillips, and assistants, entertained those who were interested in the subject with a large and varied series of experiments, including the spectra of some of the rarer metals; a beautiful "diffraction" exhibition, shown by means of the Oxy-hydrogen light; an exhaustive series of experiments with "sand figures"; and some illustrations with a highly-finished model of a hydraulic press, by means of which bars of iron were broken with ease with the slightest force exerted by a very small boy.

So the Grammar School was officially inducted into Tyndalls Park, amidst celebrations which make it hard to believe that only forty years before it had been a school merely in name. The recovery had been almost miraculous. Now, under Caldicott's leadership, it moved into a new era of its history on a flood tide of success and confidence. Its life was vigorous, its local prestige high, its academic repute already notable and secure. The fine new buildings of Tyndalls Park seemed in this age of progress to offer the certainty of a wider and richer future.

## Chapter V

### HARD TIMES

TYNDALLS PARK has remained the home of the School since 1879. Much has been added to the original block of buildings, notably during the years between 1906 and 1914; but Caldicott's building, with the main entrance and classrooms downstairs and the "great schoolroom," now known as the Great Hall, upstairs, has continued to be the heart of the daily life of the Grammar School. Externally the building is clearly imitative in its architecture, being, as the editor of the School *Chronicle* rudely observed in July, 1881, "Gothic of the Debased or Tudor style."<sup>224</sup> Yet it was an honest and a sensitive imitation, and it lacks neither dignity nor grandeur, particularly on the south side as seen from the playing-field. Within, the Hall is one of the great schoolrooms of England, lofty and spacious, noble in its proportions, with fine windows and roof-beams. The unobserved influence of buildings and site is one of the imponderables of education, but there can be little doubt that the Great Hall at Tyndalls Park has, by its intrinsic qualities as by its associations, done much to evoke a strong sense of corporate loyalty in the boys of Bristol Grammar School. The Hall is at once the architectural glory of the School and the finest symbol of its life as a community.

Yet it was also, for a generation after its building, a considerable liability. Its later and appropriate use has been as a hall of assembly. But it was built as a schoolroom. Round its walls there were placed raised stalls for masters, eight or ten or even more of whom might be teaching there simultaneously under the vigilant supervision of the headmaster. Caldicott was a product of King Edward's, Birmingham, a school whose own great hall had been used in this way, and he insisted on copying this plan in Bristol. His arguments against the alternative, the construction of smaller classrooms, are revealing. The small classroom, he alleged, "breaks up the School into so many distinct schools, impairs the spirit of unity in the School, removes both

Masters and boys from the oversight and control of the Head Master, and either wastes time in the constant removal of large classes from one Master's room to another's or leaves large classes, at constantly recurring periods, free from all control for some minutes while Masters are passing from one classroom to another."<sup>225</sup> This was a mistake, and a costly one, revealing that lack of educational imagination which alone prevents him from being numbered among the great Victorian headmasters. For the future belonged to the smaller classrooms with which the original Tyndalls Park block was quite inadequately provided. The Great Hall, despite its nobility, was for teaching purposes an anachronism as soon as it was built. The masters' stalls remain; as a later headmaster, Mr. J. E. Barton, remarked in 1928, "the Great Hall still has relics of a time when eighteen classes were taught in it simultaneously by eighteen masters—a system which, no doubt, in a more robust age than ours, encouraged concentration, on the principle of making a virtue of necessity."<sup>226</sup> The necessity was in part financial. The new buildings in which the Great Hall was a dominant element represented a great capital outlay, whose scale was an important factor in checking modernization and extension during the years that followed 1879.

Caldicott remained as headmaster at Tyndalls Park for four years only. They were years of outward prosperity when the School, an object of civic pride, took root in its new site. Numbers at first rose steeply with the additional demand for places stimulated by the new buildings; by the end of 1879 there were 342 boys, and by July, 1880, over 400.<sup>227</sup> The academic reputation of the School continued to soar. In 1880, for the second time in three years, its old boys won both the Oxford Mathematical Scholarships, an event celebrated by the grant of seven days' extra holiday to the School; and 1882 brought a long list of university distinctions, including prizes in Divinity and Theology and Fellowships at Worcester and Brasenose Colleges, Oxford, and the Third Wranglership at Cambridge. In the School itself there was embellishment and extension of activities. Members of the Wills family had already given the clock and bells; now an organ, the gift of W. H. Wills (afterwards Lord

Winterstoke) was installed in the Great Hall and formally presented to the School in 1880. Canopies were erected over the masters' stalls. In March, 1882, a tender of £12 15s. "for supplying and fixing bells in order to establishing means of communication between Assistant Masters and the Porters" was accepted. A cadet corps, under the command of J. G. S. Muschamp, was formed in 1880; it was short-lived, lasting only until 1883. Drill instructors were appointed: in September, 1881, the local press carried an advertisement saying, "Parents wishing their Sons Drilled will please to communicate with the Drill Master, Sergeant-Major Campion, at the School. Drilling for the term 2s. 6d."<sup>228</sup>

All seemed prosperous. Then, in December, 1882, Caldicott wrote to the Governors warning them of his intention to resign in the following summer,<sup>229</sup> and in August, 1883, he left, taking a living at Shipston-on-Stour. He had been headmaster for twenty-three strenuous years, and their events had undoubtedly exacted toll even from his abundant energy; he had been absent ill for several weeks in the winter term of 1880. Although he was only 54 at the time of his retirement and was, as J.P. and County Alderman, to play a prominent part in the public affairs of Worcestershire during the twelve remaining years of his life, he may well have welcomed the comparative calm of a country rectory.<sup>230</sup> Nevertheless he appears, in the light of the School's history during the next twenty years, to have timed his departure with singular prescience; and it is difficult not to believe that other factors weighed in his decision. It is significant that the numbers of the School had already fallen from the high level of 417 in 1880 to 320 on the eve of his departure, a very considerable decline. Further, he was certainly aware that the School was in a serious financial predicament; in 1882, after seven years' working under the new scheme of government, the Governors were over £6600 in debt, and expenditure was regularly exceeding income.<sup>231</sup> These were omens of an approaching storm, and Caldicott may have decided that he had already weathered storms enough.

Whatever Caldicott's motives, his retirement marked the end of an epoch. No headmaster before him had done so much for the School; and no headmaster before or since has ever impressed his personality so deeply upon its members. In a tribute to his

memory J. G. S. Muschamp, his colleague for fifteen years, could say, "If Robert Thorne founded the School, John William Caldicott was its second founder; and it stands his noblest monument," and he could make this claim with complete confidence that it would be echoed by the majority of Caldicott's former pupils.<sup>232</sup> And yet no headmaster is so difficult for the twentieth-century critic to assess. Caldicott was so eminently the Victorian in his certainty—certainty about the progress of his School, about the rightness of his judgment and of his sense of duty, about the necessity of enforcing his own morality upon others; and this is a characteristic that makes fair judgment peculiarly hard to attain in an age that has little trust in certainty. Further, there arose after his departure what Sir Cyril Norwood has aptly called "the Caldicott myth,"<sup>233</sup> a belief, fervently held by the old boys, that Caldicott had been the peerless headmaster and his régime a golden age whose achievements could never be equalled. The troubles that followed his retirement fostered the growth of the myth, and it reached its height in the first decade of the twentieth century, finding regular expression in adulatory and nostalgic speeches at old boys' gatherings. "The blessed memory" of Dr. Caldicott was an embarrassment and an exasperation to his successor in office, and to the historian it is a source of confusion as well as of enlightenment.<sup>234</sup>

Handsome, distinguished and upright in appearance, proud and pugnacious in mind, Caldicott had been endowed by nature with the dangerous gifts of the leader, and he had imbibed from his Victorian environment all its severe moral code and its shrewd worldly wisdom. The result was a man to whom his contemporaries and former pupils applied, with remarkable consistency, adjectives connoting strength. They spoke of his "resonant" voice and "trenchant" style as a public speaker, and of "the unflinching courage and indomitable will" with which he had opposed the Endowed Schools Commissioners. At a farewell gathering in 1883 Samuel Morley, M.P., paid tribute to "the clearness, the straightforwardness, the independence and the great intelligence" of Caldicott. In 1897, when the Caldicott Memorial, that characterful medallion by G. Frampton, A.R.A., was unveiled in the Great Hall, J. B. Lock, one of Caldicott's old pupils who became a master at Eton, wrote, "He was one of

those fearless men, born to command, one who delighted in responsibility, whose judgment was seldom at fault." This no doubt was part of the myth, and the myth was uncritical; but it was a measure of the force and dominance of the man.<sup>235</sup>

Sheer power of personality was one element in Caldicott's success. A second was the accuracy with which he reflected the moral aspirations and assumptions of his age. In December, 1878, at the last breaking-up ceremony held at Unity Street, Caldicott, speaking of the weakness of some forms in Greek and Latin grammar, made a violent attack on "what they were pleased to call assistance, but what in reality was about the lowest, the meanest, and most contemptible method which any schoolboy could possibly adopt for the purpose of deceiving his master, cheating his parents, and doing mischief to himself—he meant by the use of translations." Parents who permitted this were "teaching their boys a direct lesson of disobedience" and "destroying the whole use of school work for their children with reference to the preparation for after life." "A boy who skulked away from such difficulties would skulk out of difficulties as a man, and the object of school life was not to learn skulking and sneaking, but to make boys frank, honest, straightforward, bold Englishmen, with the courage to be true in word and action."<sup>236</sup> It was a pointed application of a principle which he had expressed at Prize Day the previous year—"the great end and aim of all education worthy the name should not be to incite boys or girls to do what they thought pleasant, but to do that which they believed to be their duty." Duty, that most potent and significant of all Victorian concepts, was constantly in his thoughts and phrases, notably in his last few years in office. In 1881 he told the audience at breaking-up that "with the boys of every grammar school, more than any other school in England, the duty of earnestness should be the first and leading principle." It was fitting that at his last Prize Day he should urge that "the boys, as well as the masters, must remember that throughout the School there should be but one thought and one principle—the thought of how they could best discharge their duty to the School, and the principle that no temptation in the world should induce them to depart from that duty."<sup>237</sup>

His own performance of that duty, as he interpreted it, had

been unflagging, and his success was great. In some ways, no doubt, he was fortunate: he had inherited from Hudson and Evans a prosperous school in a prosperous age, he had come to power when the tide of its fortunes was still flowing, and in his battle with the Endowed Schools Commissioners he had enjoyed the full support of a vigorous local patriotism. Nevertheless it is to Caldicott himself that we must give the major share of the credit for three notable developments. First, he triumphantly maintained and advanced the status and reputation of the Grammar School in face of the double challenge represented by the foundation of Clifton College in 1862 and the original proposals of the Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1870. Secondly, he took the School from its cramped quarters at Unity Street to the fine new site in Tyndalls Park. Thirdly—and it is probably his most important contribution to the School's history—he had set and maintained new standards of work, conduct, and intellectual attainment for its members. The "Caldicott myth" itself is evidence of the new spirit he brought. Comparative calculations of intellectual distinction are notoriously difficult to handle. But a speaker at his last Prize Day (1883) pointed out that whereas between 1855 and 1863 Bristol Grammar School could be credited with fifteen distinctions at Oxford and Cambridge, that same number fifteen had been the *annual* average over the ten years before 1883, and that there were now old boys of the School on the governing bodies of no less than four Oxford Colleges.<sup>238</sup> The School had won a great reputation for scholarship, through the work of Caldicott and of the staff whom he had inspired. As one of the ablest of their number said, "He was a man of inspiring, burning, contagious enthusiasm; utterly believing himself in the School as a grand instrumentality for furthering best and truest interests, he filled full his colleagues with the same belief."<sup>239</sup> In this belief he did work which has ensured for him one of the greatest places in the School's story.

Caldicott's achievement was immense. But it was bought at a high price. Part of that price was paid by his pupils, especially by the less virtuous, less industrious and more delicate of them. Something of the sort was inevitable; for the Darwinian hypothesis of the survival of the fittest applied with peculiar aptness

to the conditions of the average Victorian grammar school. Yet there was undoubtedly a real element of terror in the Caldicott régime, as the frequency of expulsion bears witness. Moreover, it seems clear that he overworked his sixth-form boys. One of them has said that it took quite a bright boy from six o'clock until midnight to do enough homework "merely to keep out of trouble"; and there were occasional protests in the local press, as for example in 1881, when a correspondent observed that "after being six or seven hours in school, it is too much to ask of a youth to devote more than two hours or two-and-a-half at the most to preparation: it is like sacrificing, out of one hundred boys, ninety to the ten who are exceptionally favoured physically and mentally."<sup>240</sup> This particular letter contained factual errors and exaggerations with which Caldicott himself dealt effectively in a reply; but its tail had sting. For it was also true that the School spent much of its educational force on the ablest boys, the potential scholars. To strike the correct balance between the needs of such boys and those of their less gifted fellows is one of the perennial problems of grammar-school education; in Caldicott's school, with its heavily academic curriculum and the handicaps imposed by the great schoolroom, the scales were already tilted against the less clever boy, and Caldicott's policy tilted them still further. There was genuine force in the amusing letter from "An Old Grammar School Boy" which a local paper published in 1871 (a year in which one Grammar School boy won an open award at Balliol and a second a similar distinction at Wadham), protesting against the School becoming a "cramming-shop" for the universities; its author quoted examples of a boy who, having failed at the university, "went away, bankrupted and beggared, to Boulogne," and of another who had not succeeded in his attempts to win a university scholarship and thereupon "took to the stage for a livelihood." Another old boy of Caldicott's day has pointed out that "owing to the large numbers generally in each class, the first dozen or so of the more clever and advanced boys received more attention than the slower and less gifted boys."<sup>241</sup>

Criticism on this ground mingled with more general social attack in further letters to the press five years after his departure.\*

\* For its occasion at that date, see below, p. 126.

One writer alleged that "competition with Clifton College has been the keynote of the late policy," a policy which he described as "ambitious and vainglorious." A second, an old boy, said that "the Bristol middle class (thanks to the ambition of the late headmaster) have had their old Grammar School converted into a school whose method has for its result the benefit of a few at the expense of the many—to satisfy the unhealthy and too ambitious craving for 'honours! honours!! honours!!!'" A third, more acutely, described Caldicott's victory over the Commissioners as a victory "of an academic kind . . . for the school master rather than the pupil." He went on to attack the pressure of the classical curriculum, to criticize the use of special coaching "to grind up" boys in their home lessons for an extra fee, and to argue that the School should resume its "natural position of feeding the commercial and manufacturing element in the life of the city."<sup>242</sup> No doubt there was a great deal of exaggeration, and a few sour grapes, in all this; and no doubt similar charges could have been brought against other contemporary grammar schools. But there was unquestionably real substance in the criticism, and it is possible that it was a factor behind the sharp decline in numbers in Caldicott's last two years. It was to be a major problem for his successor.

In this, as in other ways, Caldicott left an embarrassing legacy. The Great Hall, as we have noticed, was an ambiguous heritage; and in one other respect, too, Caldicott failed to grasp the trend of the times and thus gravely handicapped his successor. This was in his attitude towards games; as a later headmaster has observed, "one of the few foolish things which Caldicott said was that his school would succeed without playing-fields."<sup>243</sup> He believed that it was "no part of his business as headmaster to know very much about the way in which they (the boys) conducted themselves in their contests with other schools and other clubs in their matches of football or cricket."<sup>244</sup> Such an attitude was not yet an unpardonable sin among headmasters, but another generation would make it one, and meanwhile it meant that the School had only a rough and steeply sloping piece of land as a playing-field.

There remains one other criticism. It may be that the worst element of the legacy lay not in the doubtful bequests, or even in

the problems which remained unsolved, but simply in the fact that there had to be a legatee. Caldicott's rule was intensely personal. For over twenty years this masterful autocrat had dominated boys, staff and Governors, compelling the School to live and work at his pace and to his ends. The pace was vigorous, the ends not ignoble, and the success had been great. But the reliance on one man had about it the makings of disaster. One is reminded of a parallel in another era and on a far greater stage. In 1809, when, some twenty years after the death of Frederick the Great, the Prussian army and the Prussian state had been shattered by Napoleon, Queen Louise of Prussia had written, "We have fallen asleep on the laurels of Frederick the Great." Schools, unlike hereditary monarchies, choose their successors to the throne. But to choose a successor to Caldicott was a profoundly difficult task. For Caldicott had not prepared the way for a successor. Instead, he had created a myth.

The man whom the Governors chose as headmaster in 1883 was Robert Leighton Leighton.\* He had been at Manchester Grammar School under F. W. Walker, and then an exhibitioner of Balliol under Benjamin Jowett, and both these great Victorian teachers, as well as Dean Bradley, had recommended him. In 1883 he had for eight years been headmaster of Wakefield Grammar School, where, as a Bristol paper observed, he had "been very successful both in filling the school and in sending up distinguished pupils to the Universities."<sup>245</sup> With such a background his prospects seemed good. The *Times and Mirror*, a Bristol paper with strong Conservative bias, had always been somewhat critical of the Grammar School under the command of so notorious a Radical as Caldicott; once it had carried a letter saying that Caldicott had "made a conspicuous figure at the meeting of the godless Education League in Birmingham," and now it was nervous about a man with the kind of backing which Leighton had. Nevertheless its editor gave him a genuine if growling welcome, saying—

I hear that Mr. Leighton, the new headmaster, has created a very favourable impression among both assistant masters

\* His original name was Figgins: he had adopted the surname of Leighton in 1871.

and boys at the Grammar School. He is very young for such a position; but evidently quite equal to its duties and responsibilities. He is, I need hardly say, a Radical—the protégé of Thorold Rogers, Jex-Blake, and that set. But he is not likely to make the mistake, as some headmasters do, of being a politician first and a pedagogue afterwards. Looked at from the lowest standpoint—it doesn't pay.

It was a warning, but not an unkind one.<sup>246</sup>

There is no evidence that Leighton needed this particular warning. His troubles came from other sources, and they came at once. In August, 1906, at the time of Leighton's retirement, the School *Chronicle* contained a remarkably frank farewell letter in which he said, "I need not hide it from you any longer that over twenty-two of my twenty-three years here have been a time of extreme discouragement." This very precise chronology of difficulty was the literal truth. Within twelve months of his appointment Leighton was beset by problems which he was never to be able to solve. His failure and, it must be added, the failure of the contemporary Governors, caused the ruin of his career and brought the School nearer to disaster than at any time in the century since its reopening. What follows is a sombre story, lightened only by the maintenance of a high standard of scholarship and of a vigorous intellectual life among the older boys.

The fall in numbers, already evident before Caldicott's departure, continued until 1885: in December of that year there were only 261 boys in the School, the lowest figure since 1872. Then there was a slight rise, and for about ten years numbers fluctuated between 260 and 290, before the drop was resumed.<sup>247</sup> Here was the most obvious symptom of the School's ill-health. The disease was at first financial in nature, with a bank overdraft, an endowment whose value had fallen because of the capital spent on the Tyndalls Park buildings, and a continuing inability to square income and expenditure; and it was made worse by the decline in numbers, a decline itself encouraged by the impossibility of spending money on improvements which would attract more pupils. It was the typical *malaise* of an educational foundation in

low water, by no means rare in the modern history of English grammar schools, and its only real cure was to be a blend of public assistance and private benevolence. In the 'eighties the time for that had not yet come, and so the Governors, whose discussions on this subject were frequent and gloomy, were driven to such expedients as they could find. They made economies, abandoning Leighton's early projects of increasing the laboratory accommodation and of levelling and extending the playing-field. They appealed to the Charity Commissioners, who at first were unsympathetic to any proposals to liquidate the School's debt by absorbing certain charitable funds, and pointed out that in a situation in which numbers were falling and so increasing the difficulties the only course was severe and continued economy in order to "re-establish a balance between income and expenditure." Otherwise the School must close. But further representations made the Commissioners relent; they permitted the employment of accumulated scholarship and university exhibition funds to relieve the debt, and by a scheme of November, 1888, allowed the Municipal Charities to convert to the use of the Grammar School a number of other charitable endowments. In all the Governors obtained over £8000. The School had a breathing space, an opportunity to make good in circumstances which continued to be difficult.<sup>248</sup>

It was, nevertheless, a depressing start for a new headmaster. Yet Leighton had begun his career at the School with a series of changes which revealed thoroughness, humanity and an instinct for reform. He had divided the Classical and the Modern sides of the upper part of the School, and provided more space in the time-table for French and German; reorganized the code of rules governing masters' boarding-houses; made the School a centre for the Oxford Local Examinations; revised the arrangements, begun under the scheme of 1875, for the admission of poor scholars,\* increased the provision of singing lessons and obtained permission to hold a School Concert; and taken the administration of corporal punishment literally into his own hands. He had allowed the boys to go out into the playing-field in the morning break (hitherto they had been confined to the corridors), and the porter to sell them buns and cocoa, and

\* See below, p. 131.

abolished the learning of syntax rules by heart in Latin—a series of “small mercies received with considerable thankfulness,” as he put it in a report to the Governors. He had drawn attention both to the lack of laboratory accommodation and to the desperate inadequacy of a playing-field which by reason of its slope and size was virtually unusable; and, in connexion with the problems of teaching in the Great Hall, he had invited the Governors to come and see for themselves what he not inaptly called the “full working disorder” of the system involved in the use of one great room for a number of separate classes.<sup>249</sup>

Many of these changes were small ones, and some were not very effective. But they drew public attention to the School. Coupled as they were with the failure to replace two masters who had left, some of them aroused doubts about the new régime. In April, 1884, “An Old Boy”—doubtless one of Caldicott’s—wrote to the *Times and Mirror* a letter which was moderately critical and warning in tone. Its writer, “from certain symptoms observable out of doors,” suspected that discipline had deteriorated, and said—possibly with more truth than he realized—that the Grammar School had “reached a somewhat critical period in its history.” Another critic prophesied that the opening of the new Merchant Venturers’ Technical School, then nearing completion, would damage the Grammar School, and suggested that reduction of staff would “tend to ruin it as a first-class educational establishment.” “Paterfamilias,” on the other hand, defended the “present wise and enlightened plan”; and Leighton himself, at his first Prize Day in that same year, showed a cheerful optimism about the future despite the admitted financial difficulties of the School. “I am told,” he said, “that there are persons of a desponding disposition, who think all sorts of dangers and difficulties are in store for me. I do not know what they are and I do not much care.” In one way certainly the School manifestly continued to flourish. In 1886 Leighton was able to report that the School had won six open scholarships and exhibitions—as he put it, “an abundant crop, and I may say we have sold it very well.”<sup>250</sup>

But the optimism was superficial. For Leighton knew very well what he was up against. The peculiar bitterness of this chapter of the School’s story, and the tragedy of Leighton’s own

story, lies in the fact that he realized almost from the start the lines along which the School needed to advance and yet realized too that progress was, in the circumstances of his own day, bound to be infinitesimal. In 1887, moved by the knowledge that the Charity Commissioners had agreed in principle to the proposals for reducing the debt, Leighton sent a remarkable *cri du coeur* to the Governors in the form of a supplementary report.<sup>251</sup> In it he drew up a list of what he regarded as necessary, as distinct from merely desirable, improvements; and the list is a significant commentary on the material defects of Caldicott's Tyndalls Park from the standpoint of an age in which Caldicott's educational ideas were rapidly becoming threadbare.

Leighton's first demand was for laboratories: "at a time when the men who have a knowledge of Physics . . . seem destined to rule the world," Bristol Grammar School had no Physics Laboratory at all, and its Chemical Laboratory held only thirteen boys at once. Then the School's classrooms were too few, too small, and dirty; and he wrote scathingly of the "little niches" for masters in the Great Hall. The staff was not big enough, and he himself had to spend far too much of his own time on his work as form-master of the classical sixth; and there was no provision for a retirement fund for them. The playground was very small and of wretched quality, and both a gymnasium and workshops were needed. Boys who brought their own dinners to School needed some "refuge" other than a classroom where they could eat them, and they needed some sort of drying-room where clothes could be dried on wet days. These were all in his view essentials; beyond them were other desirable projects. Among those he numbered a library, a shelter on the playground, some provision of baths for boys playing games, and a special room for drawing. The Headmaster's house should be modified so as to permit him to take boarders. Otherwise his own income—which, being partially dependent upon capitation fees, fell with the fall in the number of boys—would remain quite insufficient to enable him to provide for retirement; here he spoke a trifle dramatically of "ending his days in a Charity Trustees' almshouse." Without these things, or at any rate many of them, the School could not flourish; and its later history, both in Leighton's own day and afterwards, confirms the accuracy of this gloomy

prognosis. But, he concluded, "with the present resources none are possible unless indeed another Robert Thorne should arise to re-found the School, as the Manchester people have done in a similar case."

The problem was formidable, and Leighton was not the man to solve it. Yet in fairness to him it needs to be seen in its contemporary national and social context. The last twenty years of the nineteenth century were an extremely confusing and difficult period for the grammar schools. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, partly aided and partly obstructed by local zeal, had launched English secondary education on a new course. But it was a course at once beset by an astonishing variety of cross-currents. These, the product of forces which ultimately transformed the Victorian social order and its assumptions, affected every grammar school in the country, and most of all those in the great cities.

The first source of difficulty was Forster's Education Act of 1870. Within a generation this measure had covered the country with a multitude of elementary schools, and laid the firm foundations of a national system of education. The twentieth century has erected on these foundations an elaborate structure of which State-provided and State-aided secondary schools have been an increasingly important part; and even before the passing of the Butler Act in 1944 it was normal for all day grammar schools which received public money to draw an appreciable proportion of their pupils from the public elementary schools. But this was not the intention of the Victorians who passed the Act of 1870. When Robert Lowe coined his celebrated aphorism he was certainly not dreaming of the "free place" system for "our masters"; still less did Forster himself regard publicly-provided elementary schools as a preliminary to publicly-provided secondary schools. The new elementary schools were intended to give a sound primary education to the children of the working-class, hitherto grossly neglected. The endowed schools were generally regarded as schools for the children of the middle class. A few particularly brilliant working-class children might profit from two or three years at a grammar school, if—as at Bristol\*—there

\* See below, pp. 131 to 132, for the Peloquin scholarships.

were local endowments enabling them to attend; but they would be exceptional. The vital difference between elementary and secondary was not at this time one of the ages of the pupils, or even of the courses of studies pursued. It was rather a question of class, of incomes and social backgrounds.

In practice, however, the Act of 1870 had unexpected results. The work of the Board Schools soon revealed the existence of much hitherto untapped intellectual ability among the children of the poor. This not only provided the most powerful argument in the later 1890s for the creation of a national system of secondary schools; it also led quite naturally to the extension of the activities of many elementary schools, especially in the great cities. They moved beyond their original function, the teaching of the three R's, into work which brought them into direct competition with the grammar schools. An increasing number of their pupils earned Government grants by passing the examinations of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington. The education provided by these "higher grade" elementary schools may have been narrowly commercial and illiberal, yet it fulfilled a public demand, thereby attracting boys whose parents might otherwise have sent their sons to the endowed schools. Caldicott, analysing in his last report to the Governors the reasons for the decline in the numbers at the Grammar School, drew attention to schools which catered for boys who wanted only "what is called a 'commercial education'—which it is not the object of the School to provide." He went on to define commercial education as consisting of "a florid and showy style of handwriting," commercial French and German, and "so much of the practical part of Arithmetic as may be necessary for making out a tradesman's bill." Caldicott was an intellectual snob, yet one cannot help feeling that the unkindness of his phrasing is a measure of the effectiveness of the competition of what he called "lower grade schools."<sup>252</sup>

Not all the competition came from the elementary schools; indeed, as early as 1883, the year of Caldicott's observations, much of it must have come from private schools. Its existence was indicative of a growing public concern about the content of education; and this had its roots in the contemporary anxiety about the relative position of Britain in world trade. Germany

and the United States were rapidly reducing Britain's industrial supremacy; and a nervous British public opinion was attributing their successes to the superiority of their commercial and—more particularly—their technical education, fields in which England was notably defective. The result was the rapid growth of a demand, especially strong in the cities, for the setting-up of new commercial or technical schools and for the introduction in existing schools of new courses of commercial and technical instruction. It is significant that the Merchant Venturers' School opened in Bristol in 1885, offering avowedly technical and commercial courses, and undoubtedly drawing boys away from the Grammar School; it was ironic that its buildings were on the old Grammar School site in Unity Street, bought from the Trustees in 1880. The problems raised by the pressure for new subjects in the curriculum were severe. Was it the business of a grammar school to teach shorthand and book-keeping? If a school set out to develop its science side, would it not run the risk of damaging its established and successful classical tradition? Worst of all, how could a school whose expenditure exceeded its income afford to build the laboratories needed if more science was to be taught? These were scarcely easy questions to answer.

The demand for technical instruction pulled the grammar schools in one direction; the influence and the success of the public schools, now perhaps at the zenith of their social prestige, tended to pull them in an opposite one. The public schools, wedded to the classics, were instinctively hostile to the introduction of technical education—except where, as at Sanderson's Oundle, a rare innovator was given his head. The grammar schools, especially those which, like Bristol, were increasingly concerned in the pursuit of university awards in the traditional disciplines, tended to follow their example—as they did at least as readily in social matters. In questions of manners, conduct, social exclusiveness and “tone” the influence of the public schools upon the Victorian middle class was immense—and the vast majority of the men and women who sent their sons to the grammar schools in late Victorian days were proudly and profoundly middle-class. Yet the public schools were enemies as well as allies. It seems certain that Clifton College—which under the great John Percival, Headmaster from 1862 to 1879,

had been perhaps the most vital of all contemporary boarding schools—attracted at this very time of difficulty for the Grammar School many boys of the Bristol middle-class who might otherwise have gone to the older foundation.

Finally, the years after 1880 saw a notable, yet incoherent expansion of State activity in education. There were important commissions of inquiry, particularly the Cross Commission (1886-9) and the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education (1895-6). There were major statutes, like the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and the Board of Education Act ten years later; and there was that invaluable diversion of the "whisky money" to educational purposes under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, a piece of legislation whose title ought, as we shall see, to be inscribed on part of the present fabric of Bristol Grammar School. The philosophy of compulsion as expounded by John Stuart Mill was now winning its victory in English education. Yet this State activity was haphazard and piecemeal, because collectivist ideas were by no means universally acceptable, and least of all were they acceptable in secondary education. The most remarkable English contribution to education during the nineteenth century was a triumph of laissez-faire; the ideas of Thomas Arnold, incarnate in the public schools, were the principal barrier to that belief in State intervention in the secondary field of which his son, Her Majesty's Inspector Matthew Arnold, was a leading protagonist. The last decades of the century saw the battle between the two schools of thought fought out, and the new century saw the victory of collectivism in the Balfour Act of 1902 with its creation of a national system of secondary schools. Such a contest inevitably set a difficult choice before those responsible for the policy of the endowed schools. Tradition and—for most of them—instinct inclined them to oppose the advance of the State, with its implication of direction if not of control; financial need tugged them to welcome intervention. It was the old battle with the Endowed Schools Commissioners over again, in a sense; but now collectivist ideas were stronger, and local patriotism was weaker.

Through this tangle of educational forces and developments Leighton had to find his way. At the Grammar School Prize Day in 1893 Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, the visiting speaker,

observed that "they were passing through—as they all knew—a great educational crisis."<sup>253</sup> The remark was true, provided one applies it not to the year 1893 alone but to the whole twenty years before the Balfour Act. It was pre-eminently a crisis of secondary education, and it provided the continuing background to the succession of local crises which constituted the history of the Grammar School during Leighton's régime.

At an Old Boys' Dinner in October, 1900, Leighton listened to a typical eulogy of Caldicott ("one man, rugged, untamed, yet in every sense a type of Englishman"); and then—for once—let fly, with that rather hectic frankness which he occasionally revealed and which must have dumbfounded his governors.<sup>254</sup> After observing caustically that "those of the older generation owed a very considerable debt, not only to their predecessors, but also to their successors," he went on to say, "When I took over the School in 1883, supposing that I was taking command of a singularly flourishing concern and had nothing to do but keep the cart on its wheels, I soon found that I was setting off to swim with a mill-stone about my neck . . . paying £200 per annum to bankers for accommodation." This curious statement contained an unhappy truth; yet, in the first half of his career at least, Leighton did his utmost not only to keep afloat but also to shake off the millstone. His mightiest effort was the commercial education plan of 1887–8.<sup>255</sup>

In December, 1887, it was announced that a special "mercantile" section of the Grammar School was being organized, to provide a commercial education in the last year of school life. The curriculum of this section was to include arithmetic (exchanges, percentages, foreign money and measures, and book-keeping), Geography, History ("recent" History), English composition, grammar and correspondence, colloquial French or German and commercial correspondence in those languages, chemistry, the elements of political economy, elementary algebra, and shorthand. Alternative languages—Spanish or Italian—might be included later, and "such other subjects as may be found desirable." The press welcomed the proposals as a step in the direction of overtaking the superior technical and commercial education of other nations. There was silence about

it for eight months, until in August Leighton wisely invited the co-operation of Bristol's commercial firms, by putting to them a number of questions. Did they set any value on their employees' having learned shorthand and book-keeping at school? What defects did they find in their employees which a different education at school might have remedied? Did their experience suggest that the teaching of modern languages or the sciences was of practical value in business? These touched off a lively and illuminating discussion in the local papers during the next two months.

In its course Leighton gave an interview to the *Mercury* which can have done little good, for he showed himself tactless, sweeping, and rather bitter. Employers can hardly have felt enthusiastic about his remark that "the boy who goes from this School into business . . . is wanting in energy, in brains . . . or he would have gone into a profession," or ready to welcome a scheme whose object was "to reduce standards for the dull boy and put the poor helpless creature into a condition to earn his bread." The Chairman of Governors, Herbert Thomas, was rather more cautious, observing that he thought the scheme would not lower the prestige of the School but "will rather increase its usefulness." The city merchants gave it a general though guarded approval. Correspondents in the press were divided. Some saw it as a slur on the memory and achievements of Caldicott, "the old school, the old masters, and the old scholars"; others attacked the traditional predominance of Latin and Greek, and wished Leighton luck in the innovation. "Well-Wisher"—an old boy—said that there was evidently "a screw loose somewhere and the School does not answer the expectations of the managers." Leighton himself, summing up the results of the replies he had had from the commercial firms, noted that the defects about which they complained most were weakness of character, bad handwriting, and poor arithmetic; commented on the average Englishman's "utter absence of faith in the value of knowledge"; and, characteristically, implied that this was the fault of the boys' parents. The *Mercury*, in an interesting final leader, attacked "the slavish devotion of schoolmasters to the old ideas of education," by which it meant Latin and Greek, and told Leighton to see that writing was taught properly at his school. He should also be at more pains to stimulate *esprit de corps*, whose importance "they

know full well at Clifton College. . . . Do the sons of Thorne value it as much?"

In 1889 Leighton was able to report to the Governors that the new scheme was in operation. But there is little evidence that it achieved any effective results; and it seems likely that the boys of the type for whom it was intended left before they could gain much benefit from the elaborate course of instruction. It certainly did nothing to solve the underlying problem of the Governors, that of numbers, which remained virtually static throughout the period from 1884 to 1895; and it did not arrest the sharp fall which began in the latter year and which brought the figure below 200 before the end of the century.<sup>256</sup> In 1900 Leighton, in the course of a long report to Governors who were by this time markedly critical of their headmaster, expressed his disappointment about the commercial side of the School,<sup>257</sup> and in 1905 a group of visiting inspectors recommended the abolition of the shorthand and book-keeping classes. The scheme was as inappropriate in its operation as it had been grandiose in its inception. On the negative side, its opponents could find additional comfort in the fact that it made no difference to the standards of the School's classical scholarship.

The 1890s, the central period of Leighton's twenty-three years in office, brought no lasting conquest of the School's difficulties. The contemporary minute-books record recurrent signs of perpetual embarrassment. There were constant changes of staff; among these the retirement in 1892 of T. W. Openshaw, second master since 1864, was a landmark. The departure of Openshaw's vigour, pronounced Lancashire accent and skill as a teacher of mathematics snapped the strongest remaining personal link with the Caldicott era.<sup>258</sup> There were frequent remissions of fees to parents, a phenomenon which probably reflects the disturbed trading conditions of the early 1890s. The quality of the entrants to the School was not good. In a letter written to the Governors in 1888 Leighton had stated that "we admit (and have to) practically all comers, and we can't afford to get rid of them," and two years later, having reported that a fair number of the entrants were between 8 and 10, he said bitterly "A still larger number is older but only in years: how or where they spend the

intervening years I do not know but the result is deplorable."<sup>259</sup> Even this acceptance of a lamentably low standard of entry did not save the numbers from their fall after 1895. Leighton, a little casually, dismissed the decline in 1896 as being "due only to one of those fluctuations which are inseparable from any business"; in 1897, a year in which there was a good crop of Old Bristolian successes at the universities, he took the sombre line that "in the eyes of the general public every success of this kind acts as the reverse of a recommendation," since it implies neglect of the average boy in the interests of the brilliant few.<sup>260</sup> It is possible that the Governors' own attitude at the time almost merited resort to arguments of this disingenuous sort; for the evidence of their proceedings in these years suggests that, while they were readily enthusiastic about academic triumphs, they were rather passive in face of the creeping paralysis that was slowly destroying their school.

The disease was not to be arrested and eradicated until after the turn of the century, and then only by the most drastic remedies. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to see this period as one of unbroken gloom, or to imply that it made no contribution to the permanent development of the School. Leighton lacked neither optimism nor ideas; and there were strokes of good fortune as well as of bad. The supply of able boys may have run thin at times, but it never failed; and, despite the brief tenure of many of the staff and the poor pay of all of them, there was always much effective teaching, particularly at the highest levels of the School.

The results of these diverse factors were not inconsiderable. One of them has a curious background. In 1890 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Goschen, had a windfall. He had put an extra duty of 6d. a gallon on spirits and he proposed to use this and part of the beer duty to compensate publicans whose licences had not been renewed. But neither the brewing industry nor the temperance advocates approved of this, and they persuaded the Commons to reject the proposal. So Goschen decided to devote it to technical education instead.\* It was a cause for which he was an enthusiast; yet it is likely that an old Bristol Grammar

\* Strictly, policemen's pensions were a first charge: but most of it was to go to technical education.

School boy, Hubert Llewellyn Smith, who only seven years earlier had been Caldicott's last head boy at the School and who already was winning distinction as a civil servant, had a hand in persuading him.<sup>261</sup> This "whisky money" was paid over to the newly-formed County and County Borough Councils, the authorities which had in 1889 been made responsible for technical education. Some of it came to Bristol; and part came to the Grammar School—to be precise, £2000 capital grant for buildings and equipment and £200 per annum for three years (which in fact continued annually until 1919) to pay the salary of an additional Science master. In return the School was to take six free "technical" scholars each year from the elementary schools of the city.<sup>262</sup>

The outcome of this peculiarly timely grant was a small block of science buildings, including what was described as "the largest physical laboratory in the west of England."<sup>263</sup> They were opened by Sir John Lubbock in 1892. These buildings were the sole addition to the permanent fabric made in Leighton's time, and it is clear from the records that the credit for seizing the chance of the "whisky money" belongs to him rather than to the Governors, who seem to have been tepid about the idea at first. It was a notable improvement: in 1884 the School had no physics laboratory and one chemistry laboratory capable of holding eleven boys, whereas after 1892 it had a large physics laboratory and lecture theatre, and two chemistry laboratories which would between them take forty-two boys. The effects upon the standard of science teaching were plain; and it was not long before Bristol Grammar School boys were winning open university awards in science as well as in classics and mathematics.

Almost simultaneously with the development of the new laboratories, Leighton—and here too his personal initiative was evident—was trying to achieve another objective. This was the improvement of the School playing field at Tyndalls Park. When Leighton arrived he found the field "nearly useless for football, quite useless for cricket." It only served as a sort of park for the Headmaster's house, and a pasture for sheep awaiting slaughter: in the latter capacity it brought in £12 per annum which formed the Games Fund, augmented by about £4 subscribed by some thirty boys, and whatever could be raised by begging, the whole

being spent by the thirty boys on themselves.<sup>264</sup> In such circumstances the standard of, and enthusiasm for, games among the boys was extremely low; and Tyndalls Park was used only spasmodically, as the contemporary School *Chronicles* show. Leighton's first efforts to remedy this state of affairs were rebuffed —on financial grounds—by the Governors, many of whom clearly shared Caldicott's view of the purposes of education. Nevertheless he persevered. He announced at Prize Day in 1887 that he proposed to start games at various centres on Tuesday afternoons, and soon to make them compulsory; and the following year, describing "the football sets" as an encouraging success, he said that "if a little public spirit were shown, the money required to level the field would be subscribed in a short time."<sup>265</sup>

This of course was the crux of the problem. The Governors could not find money for educational purposes in which they did believe, and they would certainly not willingly spend money on causes about which they were not enthusiastic. But Leighton went ahead, and for once he seems to have carried public opinion with him. In 1889 the old boys had a cricket pitch laid in Tyndalls Park, and at Prize Day in 1890, speaking of the "comradeship and fellowship" which games instilled, he was able to announce that the match between the School and the old boys had been played in the Park for the first time.<sup>266</sup> In that year, too, he started a games subscription of five shillings per annum at the School, having informed the Governors in a special report on the subject that "the Grammar School makes the mistake of appearing to disregard everything but lessons." He seems to have jolted the Governors into action, for they granted £15 towards games (£10 from funds subscribed for that purpose and £5 from the Municipal Trustees) and even authorized the purchase of a mowing machine.<sup>267</sup> This was only a beginning. In the following year a pavilion was put up. It was not elegant; it was, according to the *Chronicle*, "a chaste design in tin relieved by a few bricks underneath . . . more useful than ornamental."<sup>268</sup> Next Leighton launched a public appeal for funds for the extension and improvement of the playing-field; by Prize Day, 1892, he had raised £1900, and by the end of 1893 the required sum of £2200.<sup>269</sup> Meanwhile the Governors had authorized

the purchase of a semicircle of land outside the entrance-door at the front of the School,\* enabling the *Chronicle* to observe in July, 1893, that "the wall, *monstrum horrendum informe ingens*" which hid all view of the School doorway was now removed. Levelling and turfing operations on the playing field at the back were a slow process but by 1895 the field was, in Leighton's words, available for play "without unreasonable risks to the players or the public."<sup>270</sup> It remained far from ideal, and further levelling was done shortly before the First World War; nevertheless it was an improvement, and in the circumstances of the 1890s it represented a considerable achievement.

This troubled decade saw another change, quite different in kind from new buildings and improved playing-fields, yet certainly no less important in the history of the School. The social basis of the School began to widen, through the admission of boys from poorer homes and with an elementary school background. There were two sources of this widening. One of them was that agreement with the City Council consequent upon the "whisky money," whereby the School admitted six free scholars per annum chosen by the Technical Instruction Committee of the Council. The second was the extension of the Peloquin Scholarships.<sup>271</sup> Mary Ann Peloquin, a wealthy widow who died in 1768, had left in trust to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol the sum of £19,000, the interest upon £15,200 of which was to be distributed in perpetuity among "thirty-eight poor men and thirty-eight poor women, all of whom to be free of the said city of Bristol, and housekeepers therein, not receiving parochial alms and not occupying or keeping public or ale houses." These Peloquin Gifts had fallen into desuetude during the nineteenth century, and in 1875 the Endowed Schools Commissioners had converted £10,000 of the principal to educational purposes.<sup>272</sup> Of this the Grammar School had received £5000.† In return, the Governors were required either to allocate not less than £150 and not more than £250 towards exhibitions at the School tenable by boys who had attended for at least one year at a public elementary school or Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, or to admit twenty such boys to free places. When as we have seen

\* The land on which the gymnasium and fives courts were later built.

† The other £5000 went to the Red Maids School in Bristol.

in 1888-9 the Charity Commissioners came to the rescue of the Governors and made further moneys available to them, including a further £1450 from the widow's fund, the scope of the Peloquin Exhibitions scheme was varied. Henceforward the Governors were to maintain not less than fifteen and not more than twenty-five boys from elementary schools or Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, providing their entire tuition fees and an annual sum of £5. Two-fifths of the places were to be available for four years to boys under 16, three-fifths of them for six years to boys under 13.<sup>273</sup>

The significance of these schemes, and particularly of the Peloquin Scholarships (as they were called after 1888), was great, for they opened a way to the universities to poor boys of ability; and a number of distinguished scholars travelled by this road, among them T. R. Glover, Peloquin Exhibitioner of 1882. They did much to maintain the intellectual level of the School in the difficult years, particularly in Mathematics, in which the scholars from Queen Elizabeth's Hospital excelled; and Leighton in 1900 described the Peloquin and Technical scholars as the best prepared of all the School's entrants.<sup>274</sup> Socially, they anticipated the developments of the twentieth century, when the School, in a more democratic age and in return for extensive assistance from public funds, was to admit larger numbers of boys from poorer homes under the "scholarship" and "free place" systems. On the other hand the rampant snobbery of the 'nineties made their presence in one way a liability. Class-conscious residents of Clifton refrained from sending their sons to the Grammar School lest they should be tainted by contact with boys from the Board Schools. There were no doubt social as well as financial reasons for the apparent reluctance of the Governors to fulfil their Peloquin obligations in these years; and in 1895 Leighton found it necessary to chivvy them about this.<sup>275</sup>

One other achievement must be set to Leighton's credit. He maintained the high reputation for scholarship which the School had achieved under Caldicott. He was himself a fine classic of the old-fashioned kind, and a good teacher. Two of his old pupils wrote tributes of evident sincerity in the School *Chronicle* when he died in 1928.<sup>276</sup> One described him as "a fine scholar and a whole-hearted lover of the ancient classics" who "never failed to interest or inspire when he was expounding the niceties

of language or bringing to life the great figures of ancient history and literature." According to the second—

Leighton was a strong sound scholar, a man of sense and good temper, no more inclined to stand slovenly translation or poor style than Muschamp. We read Thucydides with him, Sophocles, Horace's *Epistles* and (alas!) some of Cicero's *de Oratore*, the opening chapters of which he made us learn by heart—*Cogitanti mihi saepenumero et memoria vetera repetenti*. I am afraid I can't at this moment go much farther. He made everything, except perhaps that *de Oratore*—which was never meant to be a boy's book—interesting and full of life. The questions the books raised were real issues, and Leighton was a man as well as a scholar.

The second writer was well qualified to judge, for he was T. R. Glover, the greatest classical scholar the School has produced in modern times.\* There were not as many university awards under Leighton as there had been under Caldicott, but that is scarcely surprising in view of the reduction in the number of boys at the School: and certainly the scholars who came from the School in Leighton's day make a list quite comparable in quality with the fruits of his predecessor's régime. Among them, besides Glover himself, were Leonard Whibley, later Bursar of Pembroke, Cambridge, G. A. Weekes, a future Master of Sidney Sussex, and E. W. B. Gill, Fellow of Merton. Nor indeed was the list insignificant in quantity. In July, 1900, the *Daily News* recorded that Bristol Grammar School had during the last fourteen years won forty open awards at Oxford and Cambridge, a total which, if the School's relatively small numbers were taken into account, easily stood the test of comparison with other great city day schools.<sup>277</sup> Moreover the awards were now not only in Classics and Mathematics, though the former of these still predominated: in 1899 the School had won three open awards in Science.

But none of these academic triumphs could disguise the fact that something was seriously wrong with the School. It was not

\* Glover's verdict has been confirmed by every old pupil of Leighton's to whom the author has spoken.

just the fall in numbers, although that was alarming enough both as a symptom and as a positive cause of further decline. In April, 1900, for the first time since 1860, the number of boys fell below 200, and it never rose above that figure until the autumn term of 1906—the first term of Leighton's successor.<sup>278</sup> These figures showed that the School had lost the confidence of the city, and that loss would ultimately be fatal, for there was no prospect now of transforming it into a boarding-school. Numerous masters had taken boys into their houses as boarders at various times, and one of them, J. G. Holmes, ran for a number of years a fair-sized boarding house called Thorne Lodge; but the decision of 1860 had made the School essentially a day school, and as a day school it would live or die. Even worse than the loss of civic esteem was the fact that the School had clearly lost confidence in itself. The pages of the School magazine in these years contain many lamentations over slackness and the lack of public spirit. There was abundant individual vigour and plenty of individual ability in the School. But corporate activities were spasmodic in their intensity, dependent on the enthusiasm of a few boys at the top and failing to enlist the support of the majority.

The complaints first appeared in 1890, when a writer observed that of the four main institutions of the School—Football, Sports, the Debating Society, and Cricket—the first three appeared to be on their last legs; and in April, 1891, the editor let himself go on the subject, saying—

It is the same with every single School institution; football practices never attended; paper-chases allowed to fall through; no one at the debates; not a single article in the *Chronicle* written by any member of the School other than one of the editors; gymnasium attendance decreased by half; sports' entries dwindling in number; everything connected with the School shows marks of the same abominable selfishness on the part of individuals; selfishness which is not confined to any part of the School, but which shows itself glaringly from highest to lowest.

This jeremiad was an unusually extreme outburst, and on the whole things seem to have been less bad, or at any rate less

worthy of public denunciation, during most of the nineties—reflecting no doubt the improvements represented by the new building and the new-levelled ground. But from 1899, when the editor remarked that “there is not the enthusiasm we could wish for in the games, nor, we grieve to say, in any School Institution,” the groans once more became frequent. Games in 1902 were handicapped by “the unbounded slackness of the fellows” (and by the fact that some boys were “disporting themselves on the Downs with teams of questionable character”); later in the same year there was mention of “that slackness which seems to be almost endemic in the School”; and in 1903 an article on the newly-formed Cadet Corps spoke of “the same old, old cry, so intimately connected . . . with the B.G.S.—‘Too much fag.’” In 1905 a correspondent demanded—

a strong combined effort to shake off the Incubus of Indifference, which has reduced the numbers of our Cadet Corps, which has for several seasons almost ruined our football, which has well-nigh nipped Hockey in the bud, which has made our Sports a subject for discussion in the local Press, which has reduced our Debating Society to a farce, which is a constant danger to our Cricket, and which ever threatens the welfare of our School itself.

No doubt we must discount some of this; moreover, a later generation which has to some extent evaded the problem of lack of interest in games by making them compulsory ought to be charitable in its judgment. Nevertheless, it is clear that the School under Leighton was signally failing to enlist the active devotion of the great majority of its members. It is also clear that Leighton set a bad example. In reality a kindly man, he was frequently brusque and tactless in his public utterances, he appeared contemptuous of the ordinary, as distinct from the clever, boy, and he seems to have handled parents unwisely. Moreover, although he worked hard for the School in very discouraging circumstances, his frequent lateness for prayers—when he kept the entire School waiting for anything up to twenty minutes—created the worst impression, and could scarcely have the effect of stimulating boys to a sense of their duty to the community.

The year 1900 was of some significance in the School's history. It saw the first opening of a Preparatory School run by the boarding-house master, J. G. Holmes; it saw, too, the formation of the Old Boys' Society, touched off by the enthusiasm roused by the South African War. It also marked the beginning of a prolonged crisis in the relations between Leighton and the Governors.<sup>279</sup> They appointed a special sub-committee to consider the condition of the School, and this reported in stern terms, saying—

We find it impossible to disregard the diminution in the numbers of the School, long continued and now very serious in amount. It appears to us to be the duty of the Governors to take a decided step with a view to checking this diminution. We feel that we must recommend the Governors to indicate to the Headmaster that they will consider the whole question on or about 1st May, 1901, when they must either be better satisfied with the position of the School or give him notice of removal.

Leighton defended himself in a long, diffuse, and rather pathetic document, cataloguing the various difficulties, and claiming credit for the improvements like the new building and the increase of science teaching. He also produced a curious geographical argument, maintaining that "the Commissioners forced you away from the finest business site in the city" and that "we are not located amidst the population we ought to serve, which lives on the northern side of the Clifton Extension Railway, from half a mile to two miles distant." This was not very convincing in days when boys thought little of walking considerable distances to school, still less so now that the bicycle age had fairly dawned.

There followed a short period of desperate expedients to improve the position of the School.<sup>280</sup> They were of varied kinds. In February, 1901, the Governors contracted with a newspaper in Jamaica to advertise the School; in April Leighton proposed bringing the School into relation with the Science and Art Department at South Kensington for the purpose of obtaining its grants. There is no evidence that an influx of West Indian boys occurred; and the conditions laid down by the Science

and Art Department proved unacceptable, for they would have virtually extinguished open scholarship work in Science. In May of the same year the Governors, reconsidering the condition of the School and Leighton's position, decided to postpone further action until entries for the following term were seen; this was only carried after a division. Leighton was narrowly saved. Later in the year the Governors appealed to the Charity Commissioners for further financial assistance; the Commissioners sent an official to discuss the position, and then declined to help. All this appeal produced was a crop of gossip. As the *Western Counties Graphic* put it in October, "Strange rumours are flying about relative to an old Public School not a hundred miles from this office. It is said, I know not how truly, that the Charity Commissioners are going to despoil it, and divide the plunder among some other public schools of shorter history, and some other bodies unnamed," and that they "will convert it . . . into a superior Board School."<sup>281</sup>

The outlook seemed grim. But in fact financial redemption, at least, was at hand: for in 1902 the Balfour Act was passed, transforming the English system of secondary education and bringing State aid to the endowed schools. For Bristol Grammar School it meant a successful blood transfusion; for although the immediate financial effect was slight, the later one, particularly after the First World War, was great; moreover, from the start it gave the patient a genuine hope of recovery. In 1903 the Board of Education pronounced the School eligible for grants, and in 1904 sent an inspector. His report, while serving as the basis for the provisional recognition and the grant of £206 1s. 3d. accorded in that year, was not wholly satisfactory. The Board was not prepared to grant full recognition so long as the English teaching in the 5th Classical and Modern forms was insufficient in amount, and so long as there was no manual instruction at the School.<sup>282</sup> Leighton's reply to these criticisms was very revealing of his attitude towards education. "For manual training we have no suitable building, no apparatus, no teacher, and no money wherewith to provide them, nor if we had money would I ask the Governors to spend it in providing what is after all only one more School game." As for extra time for English, he "absolutely refused to concede," as it would

mean less time for the boys' work on those special subjects in which they would ultimately compete for open scholarships. But the Board temporarily waived its insistence on manual instruction, the Governors overruled Leighton about the English, and the School was in 1905 duly recognized.<sup>283</sup> At Prize Day in that year Leighton gave recognition a curmudgeonly welcome, saying that "he was one of those old-fashioned people who did not expect much benefit to accrue from government control and intervention, but they hoped there would be some useful hints to be got out of the Board."<sup>\*</sup>

By this time his course at the Grammar School was nearly run. The Board rescued the School; it accelerated the fall of Leighton. In 1903-4 there were notable changes among the Governors.<sup>284</sup> In September, 1903, Herbert Thomas, who had been Chairman for twenty-eight years, died at the age of 83; his successor, Philip Worsley, was an appreciably younger man. In 1904 there were no fewer than fourteen new appointments to the Charity Trustees, and it seems clear that these changes precipitated a determined attack upon Leighton. In 1905 the Board carried out a full inspection of the School, and in October the School Committee of the Governors considered the whole situation. On 3rd November a special meeting of the Governors took place to consider the Committee's report. Leighton, struggling desperately, wanted to remove the School from its present site: "in another district we should be the best school in the neighbourhood and should get the best business," and he suggested moving out to Filton in the northern suburbs of Bristol, and adapting the School primarily to the needs of the city scholars. The Committee's report was blunt. The falling off in numbers—and "in public appreciation also"—was due chiefly to "the unpopularity of the headmaster": and this reflected his "injudicious treatment of parents and an unconciliatory bearing on his part towards them," and, more especially, "a want of sympathy and tact in dealing with the boys." The Governors considered it impracticable to remove the School,

\* It was at this Prize Day that Judge Austin said, "We had had before us day by day an example of courage, obedience, patriotism, unselfishness, and a sense of duty and chivalry which, he believed, had never been equalled in the history of the world." It is a little odd to learn that this remarkable description referred to the Japanese fighting "for their national existence" against the Russians in the war of 1904-5.

and they would not have its position lowered to that of an ordinary municipal secondary school. So, as one of them is said to have put it, "if we can't move the School, we can move the Headmaster," and Leighton was asked to resign.

He remained in office until the end of the following summer term, 1906; and after settling in Cambridge for a few years he went to British Columbia, where he died in 1928. It is impossible not to feel much sympathy for the man who was by far the most unlucky of the School's recent headmasters. Leighton had fine gifts and qualities, among them the power of winning lasting loyalty and affection from those few who knew him intimately. His book on education, *The Boy and His School*, reveals him as a man who lacked neither sympathy nor enlightenment. Moreover, in judging him one should make full allowance for the natural embitterment caused by twenty-three years of rebuff and failure and cheeseparing. Yet it is clear that his qualities were not those needed in the hard times. Diplomacy or persistent determination might have enabled him, if not to conquer, at least to survive; but he had neither. Nor had he the power to inspire, and so despite the real achievements of these difficult years, his term of office ended in failure, leaving a dismal and uncertain heritage to his successor.

## Chapter VI

### LATE VICTORIAN SCHOOL

THE first issue of the Bristol Grammar School magazine, the *Chronicle*, appeared in May, 1879, the month of the opening of the Tyndalls Park building. Except for a lapse of two years between 1885 and 1887, it has remained in continuous existence ever since. Its first editor was F. S. Carey, later Fellow of Trinity and Professor of Mathematics at Liverpool University, and the first chairman of the *Chronicle* committee was J. G. S. Muschamp. It began on serious lines, for the introductory article was a discussion of the purposes of education.

The first lesson of life is to learn how best to help ourselves in doing all that we have to do. Our present venture is made in the hope that we may be of some little use to each other in the acquisition of this knowledge. . . . The interests of life are never more numerous or more engrossing than in youth. We shall endeavour in the School Chronicle to find a place for each. Our work, our sports, our amusements, literary and social, will all have their record in our pages.

There followed Latin verses *Ad Lectorem Benevolentissimum*; an Editorial review, hortatory rather than factual, of the Sports of the School; an article criticising the verse of Robert Browning; an account of "The Experiences of a Scholarship Hunter" ("of course the first place to be visited was Keble College Chapel"); a list of honours won by boys and old boys; a report of a meeting about the School cricket and football, a notice of the coming Athletic Sports, and two items of correspondence. It was a modest beginning, and it nearly had an untimely end. For when it appeared with "Bristol Grammar School Chronicle" on the front, Caldicott was furious; he abhorred the title "Bristol Grammar School," insisting always upon "the Grammar School (*apud Bristolenses*)," and he ordered all the copies to be recalled. In fact, few were; but henceforward until the summer of 1889 the word "Bristol" was omitted from the cover.

School magazines provide a great deal of detailed information which is nowhere else accessible, particularly about that domestic life of the school community which almost entirely escapes the official records of administration and high policy. Further, so far as they are anything more than a mere catalogue, they provide this information in a manner which is unique. By their literary style, their choice of subject-matter, their mode of comment, their moral judgments, they reveal as no other written evidence can the spirit, tone, and standards of a school. In this second respect, the *Chronicles* of the last twenty years of the nineteenth century are extraordinarily valuable. After that time they change their character; the expansion of the School's numbers and activities after 1906, the development of a powerful Old Boys' Society and an Old Boys' section of the magazine, the passing of the Victorian age with its passion for moral judgment, the impact of a World War—all these things combined to make the later magazine more of a factual record, to emphasize the pattern and to reduce the variations. By contrast, *Chronicles* of the 'eighties and 'nineties, often rather shapeless and individualist, always didactic and formidably intellectual in their content, seem to distil the flavour of the late Victorian school by a process which a more hurried and less sentimental age has lost.

The *Chronicle* was from the start one of the major institutions of a School which had relatively few "out-of-school" activities. It was invariably the work of a small group of clever sixth-form boys, and the evidence both external and internal suggests that the staff had very little to do with it. Muschamp was soon forced to resign from the committee by a revolt led by one of the early editors, and henceforward acted as censor. How rigid the censorship was it is difficult to assess. There were certain limits that could not be overstepped. For example, although its pages usually contained a certain amount of raillery and waggishness, this was scarcely ever at the expense of the masters—unless they were foreigners, like the one who "has on several occasions been heard to ejaculate 'Ze preffect are all fool'"; and in 1881 a correspondent was sternly informed that "letters relating to points in the discipline of the School are obviously unsuited to our columns." On the other hand certain official activities came in for outspoken comment, and Prize Day in particular was

frankly and frequently criticized as dull and tedious. It seems likely that a far more effective censorship was enforced by the editors' own sense of what was fitting. They set their contributors a high standard, and were sometimes horribly priggish in doing so, particularly at the expense of boys below the sixths. "First Form" was once told that "only want of space prevents our attempting to carry out further your advice to make the *Chronicle* more amusing by inserting your letter," and the contributions placed in a special box installed in the corridor to attract attention were dismissed as "a considerable quantity of unmitigated rubbish." Not until the 'nineties is there much sign of contributions from the lower forms of the School.

Nor, it must be admitted, is it likely that these early magazines found many readers outside the sixths, the staff, and the more intelligent of the old boys; for the majority of the articles were too difficult for the younger members of the School. In addition to the regular reports of Games, Sports, Debating Society proceedings, and occasional functions such as concerts, each issue contained a large number of original contributions, sometimes by old boys but usually by the contemporary intellectuals of the sixth. These were astonishingly varied in form, ranging from Latin verses to ghost stories, from travellers' tales to scientific essays, from architectural dissertations to satirical poems, from literary criticism to historical inquiry. They were usually long and often profound; and there was practically no limit to their subject-matter. The *Chronicles* of the early 'eighties, for example, produced prose articles on Bristol Cathedral, Newfoundland, A Visit to the Tower, What's the Use of Latin and Greek?, Euclid, Sketching, Redcliffe Church, Private Theatricals, The Spirit of Gothic Art, A Tale of Two Cities (a comparison between Bristol and Rome), A Week among the Quantock Hills, Local Literature, A Bazaar at the Victoria Rooms, The School in the Past, The Revised Classical Tripos, A Day on the River, The Supernatural, Hops and Hop-Picking, The Telephone and Microphone (with diagrams), Arcadian Poetry, Somersetshire Towers, An Old Manuscript, A Day in Edinburgh, A Bicycle Ride from Bristol to Westward Ho, Pantomimes, Comets, Curiosities of Misprints, Manuscript Hunting, Compulsory Military Service, Plaster Casting, A Druidical Temple, Railroad

Notes, Pokehouse ("a wooded hill in one of the western counties of England"), Aldershot—The Camp, The Travels of Four Homeric Heroes, A Trip to Ould Ireland, Five Bristol Worthies, Names, and The People. Among the verses, original or translated, were A Song in Winter Time, A Classic's Complaint, Seaweed, A Swallow's Song, Tintern Abbey in Moonlight, The Wood Fay, An Ancient Ghost Story, Sapphics to a Street Arab, Sophocles, The Parabasis of the Pax of Aristophanes, Anacreon's Exhortation to His Boon Companions, St. Albans' Grammar School, The End of the Orator (to the tune of "The Wreck of the Hesperus"), A Love Plaint, A Dream of Spring, Evening, Morning, A Carol, An Ideal, and The Shikaree.

Ten years later the articles were shorter; they filled less of the magazine, for there were rather more activities to record now; and there were fewer of them each year, for whereas in the early days there were five issues annually, from 1887 onwards the *Chronicle* appeared terminally. There were also more articles by junior boys: in July, 1891, for example, the contributors ranged from a Senior Classic to a boy aged 12. Yet the panorama of subjects remained as vast as ever: between 1890 and 1895 prose subjects included Why Do We Learn Classics?, Of Righteousness by Arrangement (an attack on capitalism), *Ars Poetica*, Holy Week at Jerusalem, Of Righteousness by Derangement—Commonly Called Socialism, Cambridge, Hypnotism, *Fiat Justitia* (an attack on the Classics), A Visit to Haddon Hall, Hop Skip and Jump (a satire on dancing, written by "Lavender-Kids"), The List of St. John's Scholars, Some Epitaphs, Compton Wynnyates, A Ghost Tale, Notes from Morocco, Verse Making, Shot Making, To the Scilly Islands and Back, Stanton Harcourt, On Writing for the Chronicle, A Cycling Tour, Scenes from an Undergraduate's Life, Temperance, The Beauties of the Classics as Seen in English Translations, Coaching in North Devon, An Indian Monkey Temple, Slang, French, The Use of Crinolines, *Tempora Mutantur*, Reading, Labour, Clothes, The World of Letters, A Visit to Jersey and Normandy, Examinations, Birds' Wings, A Hunting Adventure in India, Orchidaceous Plants, Music (an essay by a junior boy, which ended with the remark that "the piano helps to make people have a pure mind"), Gleanings from an Old Log Book, Our Estimation of Woman

Different from that of Man, Unsolicited Testimonials, The Future of the White Race (extremely imperialist—"There is the lion and there is the lamb, and there will always be a superior race"), The Referee, and Swiss Railways. The verse had undergone a marked change in the ten years; there was appreciably less of it, nearly all of it was flippant, and translations were rare. Its subjects included Euripides, Translations from Theocritus and Lucretius (one of them by an old boy), King-Cups, Babies (principally their frequency in railway-carriages), The Wife-Beater, O Brigham Young! (a neat piece of free verse on the troubles of a Mormon husband), Ballad of Two Noble Friends, A Tale of a Catapult, The Wail of an Anonymous Pessimist, A Lamentation (for the triumph of science), The Costers' Songs, Wedded by Art, A Reminiscence (of New South Wales), Ballade of B.G.S. Football, Iphigenia in Devonshire, A Vision of Robert Thorne ("Difficult indeed I found it to persuade him that the school was the school his gift had founded": inevitably, the Founder was introduced to sulphuretted hydrogen in the new Laboratory), From Anacreon, and The Inspector's Bride.

The quality of all this work varied enormously, of course. But on the whole its standard as well as its range provides ample confirmation of the truth proclaimed by the open scholarship results of these years—that Bristol Grammar School was producing a steady stream of very able sixth-form boys. Yet it is not merely the impression of intellectual ability which gives character to these early *Chronicles*. Even more striking is the stamp of individuality which appears in many of the contributions and leaves a picture of young minds moving in a bracing intellectual climate.

Two other features of the Victorian magazine deserve attention—the illustrations and the advertisements. For a number of years the illustrations were limited to drawings—architectural, scenic and technical—made by members of the School to adorn the articles; but in 1882 that future eminent civil servant Hubert Llewellyn Smith revealed his powers as a cartoonist. Photographic frontispieces began in March, 1893, with a portrait of Leighton, and a year later the first team photograph appeared, that of the 1st XI of 1893, containing two masters, one of whom is staring, with the studied negligence characteristic of such

groups at the time, at a point far to the right of the photographer. The first staff photograph in the *Chronicle* appeared just after Victoria's reign had ended, in the summer of 1902: all twelve masters were wearing moustaches. The advertisements, a vital source of revenue in days when the School was relatively small, remained until 1915. In their own way they are reminders of a lost civilization, when trousers could be had for 13s., pea jackets for 12s. 6d., sailor suits for 8s. 6d., and a bedstead and spring mattress combined for 16s. 6d. Moreover, as with the contributions to the magazine, so it was with the commodities advertised; almost anything, it seems, could be sold through the medium of the *Chronicle*. The vendors of chemical sets and textbooks and cricket bats were appealing to the boys; most of the other advertisers, it is to be hoped, rather to their parents. For among the wares to which attention was regularly and more or less discreetly called in the front and back pages of the *Chronicle* we do not merely find tea, paper-hangings, Norfolk suits, sewing machines and horticultural buildings; there are also artificial eyes, Anglo-Bavarian amber ale, false teeth (with an illustration), bassinette baby carriages (also illustrated, complete with baby), and "Working Man's Funeral, complete, from £1 10s. od."

Among the School activities of the period, it is clear that the one to which the editors of the *Chronicle* attached the most importance was the Debating Society. It was well established before 1879; indeed, according to an article in the *Chronicle* in 1896, it had by that time been in existence for over a century. Even more emphatically than the *Chronicle*, it was run by the boys, not by the staff; a proposal to introduce masters, made in 1881, was firmly resisted by its committee, who were "resolved to keep the Society essentially a School Institution." It flourished exceedingly throughout the 'eighties, holding as many as six debates a term and getting attendances of forty or more at its meetings, which were held in the prefects' room. During the following decade it fluctuated a good deal in standard. In 1892 it was very prosperous, and the magazine for March of that year contained two pages of notes about the chief speakers and their varying styles of oratory, but by December, 1893, although attendance was still fairly high, there was a good deal of rowdiness

at debates. One on Imperial Federation—not, even in that imperialist decade, an excessively stimulating subject—was spoiled by the “unusual disorder and disgraceful behaviour of certain members,” and things went from bad to worse in the next few years, with complaints in 1895 of “a disgraceful lack of interest” and of “noisy fellows” at meetings, until during the winter term of 1897 there were no meetings at all. It was rapidly resuscitated, however, and by 1901–2 was once again flourishing as it had done twenty years earlier.

No doubt the main reason for its decay during the 'nineties was the general lack of corporate spirit in the School during that period. Yet a contributory cause is probably to be found in the relative decline of party political warfare at this time, after the excitements of issues like Beaconsfieldism, the Gordon affair, and the first Home Rule Bill in the 'eighties. For party debates provided an important part of the staple fare of the Society, and controversy was keen and intelligent. In 1880, for example, the policy of Disraeli's second ministry was thoroughly thrashed out, with plenty of statistics and a full discussion of foreign affairs, on a motion “That the expenditure of the present Administration has been reckless and extravagant.” Two years later, when Gladstone had sent British troops to occupy Egypt, the society approved his policy by 34 votes to 8; but in 1885 the motion “That the present critical position in the Sudan and the murder of General Gordon is attributable to the vacillating and sluggish policy of Her Majesty's Ministers” resulted in a tie. Party feeling at this time was evidently strong and regular, for the *Chronicle* reported a debate on Irish Home Rule in party terms, saying that “eight Liberals supported Home Rule, while seven Conservatives expressed their disapprobation of Mr. Gladstone's scheme” and “although no dissentient Liberals were found among the speakers against Home Rule, several had the courage to vote against it.” The result was a surprise, a majority of 27 to 20 in favour of Home Rule. So far as any political trend is discernible in the society, its members up to this time seem to have been mainly Liberal; but thereafter—like their middle-class elders in the country at large—they swung towards Conservatism, approving Balfour's Irish policy, condemning Socialism and Trade Unionism alike (the former despite a powerful speech by T. R. Glover in

its favour), disapproving of Welsh Church Disestablishment, and giving Lord Salisbury's Government a vote of confidence in 1898.

But party debates were not the only political ones. It was certain that members would, in these decades of the Jubilees, invariably prefer a Monarchy to a Republic; nor was it wholly surprising that proposals for Women's Suffrage were almost always defeated, for most members undoubtedly shared the typically masculine view expressed by the speaker who stated in 1895 that women had no wish to be mixed up in politics and added that the introduction of women into politics would lead to the banishment of courtesy. It is a little more surprising to find them agreeing (1881) "That a long-continued peace is detrimental to a nation," opposing (1882) the abolition of religious tests, wanting (1883) Bishops removed from the House of Lords, and invariably rejecting the payment of M.P.s—this last normally on the ground expressed by a speaker in 1893, that "constituencies would be deluged with a host of adventurers seeking to enter Parliament for the sake of gain." Local politics were rarely discussed; this may have been in the best interests of the School, for whenever they were the subject, the city authorities were violently denounced.

Then there was a wide range of non-political topics which evidently aroused as much interest as the political ones. The most popular of these included Vivisection, to which members were consistently hostile, and Cremation, which they always preferred to Burial. Total Abstinence was at first popular, but Temperance gradually found favour instead: debates on this subject usually evoked a discussion about the wine used at Cana of Galilee, and the principal champion of Temperance in 1899 quoted "British Blue-jackets" as examples of the effects of this virtue and maintained that Total Abstinence led to over-eating. Those manly vices, Smoking and Horse-racing, were sometimes approved and sometimes disapproved; but Professionalism in Sport invariably got short shrift, for, despite the early triumphs of Bristol City Football Club and the growing popularity of County cricket, most Grammar School boys of this period were undoubtedly brought up to believe that, as a speaker in 1894 put it, "to become a professional sportsman was the last resource of men who could devote themselves to nothing more honourable."

Compulsory Games, on the other hand, were normally approved: as was said in 1898, "if a boy is not already a gentleman, football and cricket will soon serve to make him one." The motion "That Museums and Picture Galleries should be opened on Sundays," at first opposed on religious grounds, gradually won support on the social one that such action would help to educate the working man: but there was always resistance from those who thought that it would be the thin end of the wedge of that scandalous thing, the continental Sunday. Finally there was that older spectre, the Theatre, still sufficiently tainted with disreputability to justify the tabling of a motion in 1894 "That the Theatre tends to demoralise." The honourable mover produced a slashing attack; he asserted that attendance at the theatre "weakened the hatred of vice and immodesty and involved intercourse with a very inferior society," said that "the morals of the average actor were very low indeed," and dwelt on "the dens of infamy which always crowd the vicinity of a theatre." Neither reference to the educational value of Shakespeare nor the remark that "such a play as 'The Second Mrs. Tanqueray' did more good than any sermon that was ever preached" saved the hon. opposer's cause: the motion was carried by 16 votes to 11.

Beyond the Debating Society the School had few indoor activities; these things were not the function of schools at this time. Other societies were rare and short-lived, like the Magazine Club which was formed in 1889 and apparently petered out within twelve months. A Bristolian Club inaugurated in 1899 by the scientist "Billy" Beames, a member of the staff who had been enterprising enough to take a party of boys to visit the Gas Works the year before, had as its first object the encouragement of a social spirit among the boys of the School; its interests were principally scientific, and in the following year it appears to have evolved into a Science Club and a Photographic Club, both of which expired almost at once. In 1880 a writer inquired, "Can any of your readers inform me whether the Thorne Society is still existing or no?" Traditionally this society seems to have been a convivial body containing old boys as well as present members of the School, and certainly its sole appearance in this late Victorian period was convivial enough. On 27th July, 1883, its members, old boys and sixth-formers, dined at the

Montague Hotel ("which well maintained on this occasion its deserved reputation"). Its date made it in effect a farewell dinner to Caldicott, who was in the Chair, and those present drank a handsome series of toasts to the Queen and the Royal Family, the Clergymen and Ministers of all Denominations, the Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces, the Thorne Society, the Headmaster, the School, and the Ladies and Visitors. There were songs as well as speeches, and altogether it is not surprising that the *Chronicle* expressed a hope "that this social gathering will not again be allowed to drop." But his hope was vain—except in so far as the Thorne Society was one of the antecedents of the Old Boys' Society founded at the end of the century.

Lectures were as rare as societies: there seem to have been less than a dozen in the twenty years after 1880, and most of these were given by masters, usually to the Debating Society—and sometimes with the aid of that remarkable invention, "the Oxy-Hydrogen lantern." It is noteworthy that Leighton was enlightened enough to permit an old boy, Hugh Holmes-Gore, who was one of the early socialists, to give lectures to the Debating Society on Socialism and on Strikes and Intimidation in 1889, the year of the great London Dock Strike. Plays were virtually unknown, presumably because a flavour of impropriety still attached to them; there was one curious exception, "a performance of private theatricals" in 1889 at the house of one of the masters. The play, *The Goose with the Golden Eggs*, can scarcely have been very demoralizing; the boys performed creditably, including one who occupied "the difficult position of impersonating a fair and fashionable young lady"; and the headmaster and Mrs. Leighton were present. Leighton himself seems to have been relatively advanced about these things; for he is said on one occasion to have permitted the boys to produce Gilbert and Sullivan's *Trial by Jury*. Perhaps significantly, there is no record in the *Chronicle* of this performance. For the story goes that the Governors summoned him to appear before them and to undertake never to do such a thing again, on the grounds that it encouraged boys to go to the theatre, which was bad, and that it called into ridicule the processes of English law, which was worse.

Concerts, on the other hand, were practically an annual event in one or other of the winter terms. They provided the blend of

vigorous vocal and instrumental fare characteristic of such occasions in that age. The programme of December, 1887, was typical, and it was agreeably reported in the *Chronicle*.

As our readers will remember, we ventured to predict in our last issue that the annual concert of the School would surpass all its predecessors. Those who were present in the Great Hall on the evening of the 23rd of December will know that we were no false prophets. At seven o'clock, an hour before the concert began, the hall began to fill and half-an-hour later there was not a seat unoccupied. It is acknowledged on all sides that the audience this year was larger and more brilliant than on any former occasion of a similar nature. At eight o'clock precisely the choir band began to mount the orchestra, and a few minutes later the band under the baton of Mr. Greenwood (whose appearance was the signal for loud and prolonged applause) commenced the programme with Boieldieu's overture, "Caliph of Bagdad." The band, which numbered eighteen, acquitted themselves admirably, especially in Resch's Gavotte "Heimliche Liebe," and William Hill's celebrated "March in G," with which they opened the second part. After the overture the choir gave a careful rendering of the glee "From Oberon." The choir numbered in all about 100, and Mr. Greenwood is to be congratulated on the results of his training.

The other glees on the programme were "Now by Day's Retiring Lamp" (Bishop), "This World is all a Fleeting Show" (Whaley), "Freedom's Battle Song" (Adam), and Festa's quaint madrigal "Down in a Flowery Vale." Dr. Vincent's vocal waltz "Blow Soft Winds" was excellently sung by about a score of the best trebles and altos, and later on the same members gave the "Sailor's Lullaby," by the same composer. The third item on the programme was a song "I arise from Dreams of Thee" (Salaman), by Rev. T. W. Openshaw, who experienced a very hearty reception. Mr. Rose, O.B., gave great satisfaction with his song, Sullivan's "If Doughty Deeds," and J. W. Beachim's violin solo "Last Rose of Summer" was excellently played. The remaining item in the first part was an organ solo by Mr. C. W. Stear,

hon. organist of the School. The piece selected was Guilmant's "Sur Deux Noëls." This may fairly be considered the gem of the evening, and at its close the loud and prolonged applause of the immense audience testified to their appreciation of Mr. Stear's skill as a musician. In response to the unanimous encore accorded him, he gave "Postlude" (Wely), which once more called forth the appreciation of his hearers. In the second part of the programme, T. C. E. Dayas, a present member of the School, who is in the possession of a fine sympathetic voice of considerable power, gave Mr. F. Gardner's beautiful song, "Hidden Jewels." There was evinced at the close a manifest desire for an encore, but Dayas contented himself with bowing his acknowledgments. Mr. H. E. Logan supplied the violin obligato. Dr. F. T. B. Logan gave "Speed on my Bark," and Mr. H. E. Logan a violin solo, "Meditation and Scherzo" (Howard). Mr. E. E. Hobbs elicited loud applause for his humorous rendering of Villiers Stanford's "Father O'Flynn." Carnel's part song, "Good Night," very appropriately concluded the second part, and "God Save the Queen" brought to a close the most enjoyable as well as the most successful concert ever held in the great hall.

It was certainly a strenuous evening, and the custom which developed under Leighton, whereby the performers were provided with refreshments at his house half-way through the concert, was probably as necessary as it was pleasant. At all times a fair proportion of the instrumentalists, soloists, basses and tenors were old boys, and there were periodic complaints that this was yet another sign of the prevailing lack of public spirit. These were not entirely reasonable, in view of the relatively small number of boys available, and it certainly seems that the Concert was one of the successful features of the Leighton régime. The type of programme generally chosen for these occasions and the adulatory style of the *Chronicle's* reports make it impossible to assess the standard of the performers. But at least one of them, C. B. Rootham, who was prominent in the concert of 1893 (and was also an editor of the *Chronicle* in that year), later became a musician of considerable distinction and a leading spirit in pioneer performances of contemporary works.

One of the odder things about the music of the School in these years is the relative neglect of the organ for the first fifteen years after it was presented. Its installation was celebrated by a recital by George Riseley in 1880, but thereafter it seems to have been little used, except at prayers, until the middle 'nineties; and once at least the Governors deliberately declined an offer to give recitals. Its reawakening was the work of Charles Stear, who while still a boy at the School became its honorary organist in 1885 and who was its Director of Music from 1898 until his retirement in 1936. An Organ Committee was created in 1895, principally to investigate the possibility of obtaining a gas engine for blowing the instrument; meanwhile Stear began, in February, 1896, the series of organ recitals which he continued for forty years. At the second of them, in May, 1896, as a local paper charmingly reported, he had "the assistance of Mr. Arthur Jupp, who was in good voice." The gas engine duly arrived in 1898; and it was first used for the recital which Stear began by playing Handel's "Dead March" in *Saul* as a token of respect for the memory of Gladstone, whose death had occurred two days previously.

The development of organized games may, so it is said,<sup>285</sup> "rank among England's leading contributions to world-culture." Certainly the twenty years after 1880 were the period when they became, for the first time, the great passion of the English people and a regular part of the activities of the grammar schools. Rugby School, which had already given the public schools the ideas of Thomas Arnold, now provided them with a winter game, popularized through that most widely read of all Victorian school stories, *Tom Brown's School Days*. It was probably inevitable that the Grammar School should take to it rather than to the Association game, for that in this age of intense class distinction was already looked upon as the game of the lower classes: moreover, great numbers of men were beginning to play it for money, and so what was often (and deliberately, one feels) spelled "soccer" was rejected with peculiar priggishness by the opinion of the School. It was true that many men also played cricket for money, and had been doing so for many years; but the English are not a logical people and anyhow cricket was

in some mysterious way different. Moreover the greatest of all cricketers was even now at the height of his career; and W. G. Grace was—almost—a Bristolian.

This was the period when organized games became established at the School. They did so quite naturally in response to a spontaneous demand from below, not because of any perfervid enthusiasm on the part of authority. We have already noticed the Governors' reluctance to spend any money on them; and there is little evidence that the masters—with of course a few notable individual exceptions—regarded the games of the School as any concern of theirs. Right at the end of his career at the School Leighton was to tell the Governors that, “in appointing masters I never stipulate for help in the games, nor do I make any point of athletic prowess”<sup>286</sup>; and at the Sports of 1883, as the *Chronicle* noted in a surprised way, “the evident interest taken by the Masters, which was attested by the presence of a large proportion of them, was also a source of great congratulation and encouragement to us all.” But in this as in other parts of secondary education these were years of transition; whereas in the 'eighties several masters habitually played for the School XI and XV but did little coaching and less organizing, by the later 'nineties the custom of including masters in the teams had been dropped but some members of the staff were taking an increasing share in the coaching and the organizing of the games. Nevertheless throughout these Victorian days the major part of the management of the School games belonged to the boys themselves.

The main facts about the games during these years may be quickly summarized. The principal school games throughout were Cricket and Rugby Football. Hockey was also played in the 'nineties, somewhat intermittently. The Athletic Sports was an annual event; a Five-Mile cross-country run, probably an outcome of the paper-chases which are first mentioned as normal features of the School's year in 1884, became a regular though scarcely a popular event from 1888 onwards. Lawn Tennis (which had been invented only in 1874) was rumoured as early as 1881, but it never seems to have matured into fact. A Swimming Club, founded in 1890, flourished admirably for a short time, and then seems to have died, or to have lost the ear of the *Chronicle*; a Rowing (or as it was first called “Boating”) Club,

on the other hand, founded in 1892, was very successful for a number of years in winning the enthusiastic loyalty of a fragment of the School. It had an annual race with an old boys' four. With this exception, contests between the School and other teams were limited to Cricket, Rugby, and Hockey. Throughout this period games were voluntary; the state of the ground, apart from other considerations like parental opinion, practically prevented compulsion. In fact the proportion of boys who played games at all regularly was probably never more than half the School, and for much of the time it was undoubtedly appreciably smaller.

In general it may be said that before Leighton's time educational opinion regarded team games at school simply as a suitably healthy, vigorous and mischief-preventing activity for those boys who happened to want to play them; whereas by the end of the century they had become a group of organized activities which had to have a place in a school's programme because they were supposed to be of high educational and moral value to all its members singly and collectively. These late Victorian years were a middle period in the process of change from one view to the other, and within the limits set by his own, his Governors' and his colleagues' attitude towards games Leighton made a number of experiments designed to make them a more effective part of school life. The simplest way to do this seemed to be to get more boys to play, and so the *Chronicle* in November, 1887, reported that—

this season is distinguished by the institution of what we may call a "voluntary compulsory system" of sports. Early in the term papers were sent round to the parents of all boys in and below Form IV, stating that it was intended to establish football sets to play in the field, or on the Downs, on available half holidays. Whether boys joined these or not was entirely left to the discretion of their parents, but once made the engagement was to be kept. A larger number of refusals was received than was gratifying, but out of the ninety who gallantly availed themselves of their privileges, three very fair sets have been formed, two of which play every Tuesday afternoon, and the third on Thursdays.

But this useful start was not maintained, and two years later it was reported that there would be "no football sets this term, as the younger boys do not seem to appreciate them." Leighton turned to other devices. In 1890 he introduced a games subscription of five shillings per annum; it was compulsory yet scarcely very successful, for 1891 brought some of the most severe complaints about the lack of public spirit. Two years later he produced a rather happier innovation, creating the "divisions." These were geographical "houses" for games, with the boys divided according to the part of the city in which they lived: there were three of them, Clifton, Cotham, and Redland.\* These, the ancestors of the later system of houses, stood for areas which were still at that date to some extent recognizable as real units. A fourth "division," the boarding house of Thorne Lodge, was created in 1894. They appear to have proved a genuine tonic to the games of the School, stimulating a wider as well as a keener interest. But they did not save the games from that anaemia which afflicted all the School's institutions in Leighton's final years. Leighton indeed claimed in 1905 that the games were "thoroughly healthy."<sup>287</sup> His successor took a very different view.

Of the two main games, cricket suffered the more from the inadequacies of the ground. In 1881 there was only one good pitch in Tyndalls Park, and this was not good enough for matches even by the standards of an age which cared little about elaborately-prepared wickets; for it was not until June, 1885, that the *Chronicle* recorded that "Cricket matches are now played in Tyndalls Park; and although the wickets are not perfect, they are better than those on the Downs, and have the further advantage of being far from the madding crowd." In 1889 the Old Boys had a pitch made on the Park; then followed the interruption caused by the levelling operations after 1892, during which the School used not only the Downs but also pitches on the Gloucestershire County Ground at Ashley Down. By 1896 Tyndalls Park was again in use, and the *Chronicle* solemnly reported that the effect on the cricket was "really wonderful." Lack of a professional coach was another grievance of the keener

\* Sir Cyril Norwood has suggested that Leighton was the first headmaster in England to introduce this system.

boys, finding expression in the *Chronicle* as early as 1879. There were other difficulties, too. At the Monkton Combe match in 1883 "two of our best men were unfortunately run out, owing chiefly to the length of the grass, which prevented the ball from travelling far." And there were always the umpires. When the sixth forms played and beat the rest of the School in 1885, "the School did not take kindly to their defeat, and numerous umpires were roundly abused"; ten years later in a 2nd XI match the *Chronicle* reported of an opposing batsman who scored 61 that "although he was out several times, the umpire refused to give him l.b.w." In the following year it remarked tartly of a match with another school "it is needless to add that the Bath eleven as usual included Old Boys."

The *Chronicle* cricket reporters had, particularly in the early years, an admirably direct style. They complained of the "fearful straightness" of opposing bowling; they spoke of "a soggy innings of 11." They discussed members of the XI with firm frankness. One is "very slack in the field, having a weakness for letting the ball go through his legs"; another "fields well, at times." There was some need of this frankness, for the standard was often deplorably low, and that despite the assistance of masters, who played in matches, even against other schools, until 1896. There were some extremely low scores: in 1882 all four innings of the Monkton match produced 69 runs, and two years later Monkton got the School out for 9 on what was described as a good wicket. But there were fat years as well as lean ones, even if one may be rather sceptical of the editor's observation in July, 1881, that "we cannot now boast of the strongest cricket eleven in the West of England, as twelve years ago we could." The season of 1890 was hailed as "one of the most brilliant on record for many years," and the scores in 1st XI matches were on the average appreciably higher during the 'nineties. There was certainly a general improvement in the standard of the cricket as a result of the alterations in the ground and of the introduction of the divisions.

Rugby was not so much handicapped by the ground, though, as the School Notes plaintively observed in 1880, "football assumes a very trying aspect to those playing uphill." On the other hand, neither its rules nor its terminology were yet as

clearly defined as those of cricket. Rules and "umpires" (one from each side) or referees who interpreted or misinterpreted them were a constant source of trouble. In a match of 1879, after a School try was disallowed, "a short dispute occurred, and as we had no umpire (a great fault in all our matches) we were forced to yield." Such occurrences were commonplace. There was the game in 1887 which was "unsatisfactory and unpleasant" because "each one of our opponents took upon himself the duty of acting umpire"—but which, so the *Chronicle* claims, "we won by a try to a disputed try"; and there was a similar affair next year, when "proper referees had not been provided" and "again we won a success, although nominally the game was drawn." A match in 1891 was "a very good game, but would have been more equal had the referee known more about the game." Then there was an odd fixture at Nailsea in 1892 against "a somewhat disorganized team, the members of which were . . . country bumpkins and those engaged in the colliery in the neighbourhood." The terms used in the 'eighties have a pleasing and obscure flavour and seem to reflect a certain lack of precision in the rules; we read of a disputed goal, "one umpire giving it a goal, the other a poster," and of "each side scoring two tries and a minor."

What the editors never hesitated to call slackness (a criticism which reflected a changing attitude towards games) was constant throughout these years, even among those boys who had volunteered to play. Practices were poorly attended, and so teams frequently found themselves in the state of the XV who in a match of 1879 "long before the end . . . were quite done up." On various pretexts players refused to go away for matches, and sometimes the School was represented by a "scratch team composed of any old boys and outsiders whom we are able to pick up." Some preferred to play soccer on the Downs; and there was the deplorable episode of 1894 when a member of the team declined to play because "he had to go out somewhere," which was discovered upon investigation to mean that he went to see some "performing horses." It is scarcely surprising that the performances of the First XV for much of this period were bad, and sometimes, as in 1897 when they lost all their matches, very bad. Perhaps it was that whereas county cricket in the days when Grace and Jessop were playing for Gloucestershire was as

much a stimulant as a rival attraction, in the winter soccer was merely a deterrent; whatever the reason, the events which were called in 1897 "the scrambles which are dignified by the name of division matches" seem to have done little to increase interest or to improve the standard of the School's football.

Hockey made its first appearance in the *Chronicle* in 1890, and lasted until 1895, when it was replaced by the continuation of Rugby into the spring term; it did not reappear until after the turn of the century. The reports of the matches suggest a game which was played with energy rather than with skill; its evolution seems to have been complicated by some major alterations in the local rules. In December, 1893, it was announced that "the Hockey Committee have decided to play the new Association Game in place of the old. This will necessitate the number of players being reduced from fifteen to eleven. All who play in the first eleven will be required to purchase the regulation sticks, as the old ones are unsuitable." This period of transition had its advantages, as appeared from a report of a match in the following March. "This match was very one-sided the whole way through. To begin with, our opponents were much handicapped by their lack of the proper kind of sticks, and then their men were very much smaller and younger than ours. Our back on this occasion had very little work to do, while the forwards found their part rather tiring. In the end victory remained with us by nineteen goals to nil."

The Athletic Sports took place regularly throughout these years. At first they were held on the ground of the Bedminster Cricket Club, where in 1882 the attendance was not large, which, "considering the distance of the Ground from all civilized quarters of the town (was) scarcely to be wondered at." This was the year when "great confusion ensued" over the Hurdle Race as "the hurdles had to be driven in on the spot and the measuring tape had absconded." In 1885 they took place for the first time at Tyndalls Park where, although the lap was small and "the corners sharp" and the slope must have been a serious handicap (the mile was won in 5 mins 45 secs), greater enthusiasm was shown by both runners and spectators. In the 'nineties they were temporarily removed to Ashley Down. An article on the Sports Records in 1897 gives 10 seconds for the 100 yards, by

W. N. Tisdall in 1883—on a gentle slope and with the wind; and the writer allows himself some scepticism about the time of  $17\frac{2}{5}$  seconds recorded by E. H. T. Osborne for the 130 yards hurdles on that extraordinary occasion in 1882. The achievements in general were not above the average, but the School produced one university runner of distinction in these years. This was H. E. Graham who won the Half-mile for Cambridge in the University Sports of 1899, and later in the same year won the same event in the match between Oxford and Cambridge and Harvard and Yale.

One addition to the Sports programme is an indication of the process of social change. In 1894, when the Sports were held at Ashley Down where there was an excellent cycle track, "all those members of the School who delight to contort their forms on those freaks of modern civilization called 'safety' bicycles" were invited to take part in bicycle races. This late Victorian period of the School's history coincided with the advent of the modern bicycle, for the Rover Safety appeared in 1885 and Dunlop's pneumatic tyre in 1888; and references to the spread of cycling are frequent in the *Chronicle*. As early as 1879 there was an article advocating it; and another in 1883 recorded the experiences of boys who rode from Bristol to Westward Ho—among them frequent encounters with Devonshire urchins who ran after them crying out, "O look at the dandy 'oss!" In 1884 a School Cyclists' Club was formed: it had among other officers a vice-captain of tricycles, and it arranged periodic club runs. It fluctuated in popularity a good deal, and had to be revived at least twice. In 1893 there were sixty cyclists in the School, half of them members of the club; three years later the latter was said to comprise "only the courageous captain and a few small boys who do not play cricket." Whatever the fate of the club, cycling had come to stay and to play an immense part both in school transport and in widening the range of interests of boys; but there were still grave doubts about it. At a debate in 1895 a speaker enlarged upon the "injurious effects of cycling of any description on boys, how it cramped them up, made them round-shouldered and distorted," and described cyclists as inconsiderate in "rushing past the wayfarer almost touching him as they ring their bell close by his ear."

Akin to the cyclists were the ramblers. There was a short-lived Rambling Club whose activities were recorded in the *Chronicle* in the late 'eighties; its purposes were not simply to see the countryside but also to encourage tastes which would in after-years keep "fellows" from "swelling the ranks of the mashing idiots who spent their own, their paters' and, perhaps, others' money on their needless tailors' bills and all kinds of selfish gratifications."

The brief but intense popularity of rowing among a few boys in the middle 'nineties reflected, as the marginal activities of a school so often do, the skill and enthusiasm of one of the staff. This was "Billy" Beames, a master at the School for thirty-two years; he came in 1892, and within a few months he had contrived to get a small rowing club started, with enough members to provide a couple of fours. The course lay up the Avon towards Hanham; its location was precisely defined by a writer in the magazine of July, 1892, who said, "Those who have ever been up the river to Hanham will no doubt remember a coal tip just beyond Beeses' cottage; and they will also remember that looking up the river there is a signal-post on the Great Western Railway, almost in a direct line with the coal tip: between that coal tip and that signal-post lies our race-course." After two years the School was strong enough to row against and defeat an Old Boys' IV, a victory which was repeated in 1895. But in 1896 the tables were turned, possibly because one or two members of the winning School crews were now Old Boys. 1896 was also the year in which the School four, during practice, was run down by a steam tug, and its members had to be fished out of the river, to the amusement of a large crowd standing on St. Philip's Bridge. There were two more races after 1896, both won by the Old Boys: then Beames gave up his connexion with the club, the race arranged for 1899 had to be abandoned because of an accident to the boat, and we hear no more of School rowing in these years.

In 1881 a Cadet Corps was established, under the command of J. G. S. Muschamp, and was attached to the First Gloucestershire Artillery Volunteers. It did not last many years; for this was still that golden Victorian age when it was difficult to take military activities on British soil very seriously. But its short life



PLATE V. DR. CALDICOTT AND HIS STAFF

This group was taken about 1875. Standing: G. Peake, J. N. Smith, W. Howell, J. Phillips, V. P. Wyatt, A. Weekes, T. W. Openshaw, F. Main, C. L. G. Morgan. Sitting: J. G. S. Muschamp, H. Frewer, Dr. Caldicott, H. W. Just.

*From a photograph in the possession of the Headmaster in 1951*



PLATE VI. THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN TYNDALLS PARK  
*From an early photograph*

did provide one unparalleled episode in the history of the School. In 1882 the Corps marched to Clevedon, and the tale was told in the *Chronicle* by one who took part. Its opening paragraph merits quotation at length.

On the morning of Whit-Monday last, according to annual custom, the Bristol Artillery Volunteers marched from their headquarters to Clevedon for Artillery practice. This year for the first time the Cadet Corps of the Bristol Grammar School, under the command of Captain Muschamp and Lieutenant Caldicott,\* accompanied the parent corps. The parade was ordered at half-past five, while the horses for the guns were to arrive at ten minutes to six. The cadets at the time when the roll was called, numbered thirty-one, and formed a very fair proportion of the total of those present. Some few ladies and gentlemen (among whom was the head-master) in spite of the early hour were present to see the men parade, and some also of the boys of the School, who accompanied the march. The uniform of the troops was the usual "marching order," but without arms or greatcoats. Haversacks were worn and it is needless to add were well filled, and also water bottles, which were generally filled with something somewhat stronger than water. Punctually at six o'clock the order to march was given, and as the guns were passing through the gate the chimes of the School clock were heard marking the hour. The band of the Volunteer Corps accompanied the brigade to the Suspension Bridge, playing a variety of tunes and startling no doubt the still sleeping residents on the line of route.

They halted for breakfast at the top of Tickenham Hill, and they got to Clevedon at 11.30 where Volunteers and Cadets alike duly fired the guns. Most of them returned home by train, but some marched back with the guns, reaching the corps headquarters at 9.15 p.m.

The *Chronicle* provides ample illustrations of the forces of social change in what a speaker in a debate of 1884 called "these days of competition, when everybody and everything is rushing

\* A son of the headmaster.

on at headlong speed." The development of cycling is one example; another lies in the various scientific articles that appeared from time to time. The magazine of February, 1881, opened with one on Electric Light, which tells us that in Bristol electric light—

was first produced at the time of the marriage of the Prince of Wales (1863), when Mr. Phillips (our respected science master) placed an electric light on the top of the Victoria Rooms . . . (and) also five lights on the Suspension Bridge. . . . The light on the Victoria Rooms was so intense that an ordinary letter could be distinctly read by it at the fountain opposite the museum; the lights on the Suspension Bridge cast shadows as far off as Bathampton.

A flood of scientific articles came in 1882, when the Telephone and the Microphone, Incandescent Electricity, and Voltaic Electricity were all dealt with at considerable length. Fifteen years later came information about the Röntgen Rays, the X-Rays, and a new calculating machine; and in 1898 it was Wireless Telegraphy, with news of a Mr. Preece who, using "large induction circuits and a telephone," had sent messages between Penarth and Flat Holm. By contrast, there are the countless incidental references to contemporary custom and manners, like the happy statement in a serious article on The Choice of a Profession that "our parents generally determine the matter as they discuss walnuts and sherry in the dining room, and we discuss Liddell and Scott in the study," or the comment in a description of a train journey about "the entire absence of a murder bell in the compartment."

If one had to select the external event of these years which had the strongest immediate influence upon the development of the School, that event would be the South African War of 1899 to 1902. The School, like the majority of that middle class to which most of its parents belonged, was fervently imperialist in the later 'nineties, and its members enjoyed to the full the frenzied outburst of national emotion which the war evoked. Chance added an additional stimulant to the School's feelings. The Rector of Mafeking, the Rev. W. H. Weekes, who was in the town throughout its seven months' siege, was an Old Boy of the

School, the son of Arthur Weekes who for many years had been one of its mathematical masters, and his reception on his return to Bristol provides an excellent illustration of the extraordinary ebullience of public feeling at the time. He arrived by train at Clifton Down Station, and was greeted by fog-signals, by the headmaster, and by a great number of the boys. Flags were placed on the carriage which was awaiting him, the horses were taken from the shafts, and to the accompaniment of trumpets, whistles and cheers, with cyclists forming a sort of unofficial guard of honour, the boys drew him home in triumph (fortunately it was not very far). When he appeared at prayers in the Great Hall the following day he was greeted with deafening cheers; and at Prize Day in 1900 Leighton devoted much of his address to Mafeking and to Peking, where another Old Boy had been among the missionaries massacred in the Boxer Rising.

This enthusiasm was ephemeral; but the war left two permanent legacies to the School. The first was the Cadet Corps, which was re-formed in 1900. It was noted in the local press early in that year that "application will be made to the War Office for the uniform to be khaki," and in July, 1901, the *Chronicle* carried as its frontispiece a photograph of the officers and N.C.O.s. A section of the corps wearing their "picturesque khaki uniforms and plumed hats" was present at the local proclamation of King Edward VII in January of that year. The second lasting result of the war was the Bristol Grammar School Old Boys' Society. It was a natural development, indeed somewhat overdue, and its formation at this particular time reflects the emotions aroused by the presence of a fair number of former pupils of the School in the South African fighting. On 12th October, 1900, the first Lord Mayor of Bristol, Sir Herbert Ashman, presided at a dinner of Old Boys in Bristol, and from that occasion the Old Boys' Society, which was inaugurated on 26th October, 1900, sprang into existence. Its membership within the first year reached 340, and the first official dinner, with its ritual toast of "The Pious and Immortal Memory of Robert Thorne," was held in November, with Charles McArthur, O.B., Unionist M.P. for the Exchange Division of Liverpool, as President.

## Chapter VII

### NORWOOD

IN March, 1906, the Governors of Bristol Grammar School, meeting to choose Leighton's successor in the headmastership, appointed from some ninety applicants F. A. Hillard, a scientist who was then Headmaster of the Royal Grammar School, Worcester. Hillard accepted the post, returned home to Worcester—and then, apparently, thought better of it: for early in April he withdrew his acceptance, "at the urgent request of his governors." The Bristol Governors had originally short-listed four of the ninety, but they now directed their clerk to write to a fifth to invite him to attend for interview. He did not come; he said he was no longer available. Whereupon they selected yet another five, and interviewed them; and from among these they chose Cyril Norwood, appointing him to the post on 24th April, 1906.<sup>288</sup> So near was the School to missing its greatest headmaster.

An old boy of Merchant Taylors School, he had had a distinguished career at St. John's College, Oxford, taking Firsts in Classical Moderations and in "Greats"; and in 1899, having won first place in the open examination for the Home and Indian Civil Service, he had entered the secretariat of the Admiralty, with every prospect of a brilliant future as an administrator. But, as he himself once put it, he "deserted from the Civil Service" and took to teaching instead; and since 1900 had been Sixth Form and Senior Classical Master at Leeds Grammar School. The Bristol newspapers gave him a good reception, the *Western Daily Press* being impressed by the fact that he was a "cousin of Archdeacon Kilner, of Bingley, in the Ripon Diocese." He was 30 at the time of his appointment.<sup>290</sup>

He had full need of his gifts, and of the vigour of his youth. For he faced an immense and a discouraging task, and nobody was reluctant to tell him so. Forty years later, in the *Chronicle* of July, 1947, he described the situation.

I was a young man then, and it required all the sanguine temperament of youth to face up to the general atmosphere of "defeatism" which then surrounded the whole place. Fortunately, the word "defeatism" had not then been coined, and I was not, perhaps, as much cast down as I should have been. Those who look up the *School Chronicle* for August, 1906, will find a rather pathetic letter from my immediate predecessor, which begins: "I need not hide it from you any longer that over twenty-two of my twenty-three years have been a time of extreme discouragement." I must confess that in the summer of that year he passed on to me that discouragement in full measure. Nothing, he felt, could save the School for long. Borrowing a simile from the railways of that time, when three classes of travel were in vogue, but the second class was scantily patronized, he said, "You see, such and such a school is first class (I name no names), and such another is third class, and both are full; but we are second class, and we're empty." A governor in a frank moment told me that I must do my best, and they would back me as far as they could. But his honest opinion was that the School was not wanted. I took tea with the Rev. H. Frewer, who, from the days of Dr. Caldicott onwards, had served the School long and loyally. "You ought to be specially interested in seeing me," he said. "Why specially?" I replied. "Because I am the last master who will draw a pension from that bankrupt school in Tyndalls Park," was the crushing reply. In my first week in office, a traveller from a publishing firm, whom I knew slightly, astonished me by his commiserations on seeing me in the headmaster's chair, because, as he remarked, it was common knowledge that the School was going to close. A deputation from the boys suggesting that they should abandon Rugby Football because they were no good at it served to complete my depression.

It was at root a spiritual problem that confronted him. There were great material needs to be met if the School was to live or even to survive in an age when educational demands were beginning to widen fast. It wanted new buildings, new equipment, improved and extended playing fields, a higher salary scale for the assistant masters. These things meant money;

and money, if all went well, could be had. It could come from State grants, since the Balfour Act; from private benefactors, in a great commercial and industrial city like twentieth-century Bristol; and from an increase in the number of boys. But none of these sources would provide money to a school that had lost heart, that had ceased to believe in itself and therefore ceased to be truly a school. Moreover, without a recovery of heart and self-belief, money, buildings, and everything else would be barren. Cyril Norwood's first and greatest contribution to Bristol Grammar School was an act of faith. From the beginning he believed—as Leighton had ceased to believe—in the School and in the boys, and he communicated that belief to them and to the masters, to the whole School community.

He believed particularly in the boys; and in later years he never failed to stress the part that they played in the recovery and re-creation of the School in his time. As early as 1908, speaking at the Old Boys' Dinner in London, and expressing satisfaction with the tone of the School, he gave a large share of the credit to the boys. When he left in 1916, he wrote in his farewell letter to the boys: "What has been done could not have been done if the greater part of boys of each school generation had not supported me with all their hearts. For in the end you boys yourself make the School and shape it to good and to evil." In 1947, "taking the dispassionate retrospect which the lapse of forty years makes possible, I would give first place to the boys who are, after all, the real material from which schools are made. It was first-class material; it always has been. At whatever period you take the School, from the days of Caldicott until to-day, you will find that Bristol has continuously contributed boys of first-class ability and personality."<sup>291</sup> There was abundant evidence before him among the Old Boys whom he, so to speak, inherited. There were academics of distinction like Glover, Whibley and C. H. Sampson of Brasenose; eminent civil servants like H. W. Just of the Colonial Office, and H. Llewellyn Smith of the Board of Trade, the latter one of the prime movers in the introduction of Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance; men of such diverse achievements as Rootham the musician, L. Raven Hill the *Punch* artist, F. E. Brightman who was a Fellow of Magdalen, a great liturgiologist

and an inspirer of the Oxford House Settlement in Bethnal Green, and D. S. Davies who was for many years the reforming Medical Officer of Health of Bristol; and a host of others—clergymen, headmasters, lawyers, doctors—whose repute in their own spheres of activity was more than local.\* The succession was to continue after 1906, and to show how completely justified was the new headmaster's confidence.

On 19th September, the first day of the Michaelmas term of 1906, he was introduced to the School by Philip J. Worsley, Chairman of the Governors from 1904 to 1912. Worsley, by his judgment, wisdom, and business capacity, played a leading role in the remarkable changes of these years; and on this occasion he made a perceptive speech which seems to have sounded the right note for the boys.<sup>293</sup>

You will be curious, all of you, to see in person the gentleman of whom you have all heard so much. You will be anxious to see how he governs you, and how you get on with him. I dare say what happens in other schools may happen here—the boys will be curious to see whether Mr. Norwood manages them, or whether they can manage him. I have known it happen, not very rarely, that boys have “tried it on” with the new master. The Governors have seen a great deal of Mr. Norwood, and have heard much of him, and my private advice to the boys is—“Don’t try it on with Mr. Norwood.”... Mr. Norwood has had very considerable experience, and I am quite satisfied that he is well prepared to deal with all exigencies. I can also assure you that you will find him, although possibly strict, a kindly master, fair and considerate. I feel no doubt that in a short time you will be proud of him, and personally attached to him.

Mr. Norwood was in fact already known to a great many people connected with the School; for one of the most impressive things about his approach to the task was the work he

\* In an amusing speech at the Old Boys' Dinner of 1909, E. W. B. Gill (himself a distinguished Fellow of Merton) spoke of the versatility of old Grammar School Boys. “They even had poets; while one of his contemporaries was now engaged in horse dealing, and, moreover, was making a good thing out of it. That boy had been on the classical side, and it showed that Latin grammar and Greek verses could develop cunning and vice quite as much as science.”<sup>292</sup>

did before that first term began. Speaking at the Old Boys' Dinner in 1920, four years after he had left Bristol, he recalled the advice he had received from certain quarters on his appointment in 1906. "It was said the School was hopelessly and entirely bankrupt, and might last, with great luck, another two years, and the best advice was to make a splash and induce the Governors to realize all the credit they possessed, create an effect, and then go in for the first decent post which offered itself."<sup>294</sup> He ignored the advice. Instead, he made it his business to meet as many of the parents as possible, and to take frequent counsel with the Governors. The results of the latter may be seen in the minutes of the early summer of 1906, passed while his predecessor was still in office.<sup>295</sup> The school hours were to be revised and shortened, because he believed that this would bring less strain and greater efficiency; a carpenter's shop was to replace one of the chemical laboratories; the classrooms were to be numbered, a new prospectus to be issued, and the School porter to be put in uniform.\* The increasing frequency of Governors' Committee meetings at this period attests the new era. There was in the circumstances a quaint irony about one phrase in Leighton's last headmaster's report, which the Governors received this summer. He said: "The history of the School during the year now ended has been much the same as usual."<sup>297</sup>

These changes, which came into operation in the Michaelmas term, were the beginnings of a policy as sane and thorough as it was wide-ranging and inspiring. The first term produced others in matters small and great—among them shorter morning prayers, simpler evening prayers held not in the Hall but in the separate classrooms, fixed charges payable by all boys for stationery and laboratory fees, the use of a classroom for boys bringing their lunch to school, increased salaries for some masters and a careful investigation of the whole salary position with inquiries of other comparable schools, and plans for a new system of houses and a higher standard of entrance examination.<sup>298</sup>

\* The uniform (blue frock coat and trousers, peaked cap, with B.G.S. in gold on the coat collar and the cap) brought difficulties as well as dignity to W. J. Dando, the notable character who was at that time porter. Sir Cyril Norwood tells us that it had "the result that my first victim was 'sent up' to me, when Dando led in an impish-looking small boy (who later won an Open Scholarship and gave his life in the First German War; but then he was very small). 'What has he done?' said I. 'He stands behind a pillar,' was the answer, 'and he calls me Buttons.'"<sup>299</sup>

It also produced two masterly speeches from the new headmaster—speeches peculiarly difficult to make both because of the dates at which he had to make them and because of the delicacy of his own position at this time.<sup>299</sup> The first was at Prize Day, barely a fortnight after the term had begun; in this he introduced the changes to the parents, saying that he wanted to realize the ideal of a great English day school, and asking for the help of boys, masters, and parents. One profoundly encouraging sentence stands out—"What strikes me since I have had to do with the affairs of this School is the desire and eagerness of every one to be of service to the School and to benefit it." The second speech, three days later, a more formidable task, was to the Old Boys at their seventh annual dinner, when the chair was taken by the Rev. Vitruvius P. Wyatt, a member of Caldicott's staff, who delivered a panegyric of Caldicott ("the Doctor was an ideal Head Master") and the good old days. It was not wholly the welcome a reformer could have wished; however, "Mr. Cyril Norwood, the Head Master, received a splendid reception," and he made a speech sincere, modest, and compelling. He stood by his changes, yet paid graceful tribute to Leighton's scholarship; he pointed out that the School's numbers had now reached 200 for the first time for some years, and that he hoped for a far greater increase, but that numbers alone were only a crude test and that the School should rather be judged by its old boys; above all, he proclaimed his belief in the future of the School. In its way, it was as great a success as any other single achievement of his Bristol career, and it ensured the support of what was becoming an increasingly powerful Old Boys' Society.\*

Other general problems had to be solved, and the kernel of their solution lay in the creating and winning of confidence. The discipline of the School was not so much bad as ragged; there were far too many impositions, and there were too many complaints of the bad behaviour of Grammar School boys in the streets. The Headmaster kept control in his own hands, did not hesitate to act vigorously on occasion, and abolished all but slight impositions. His ambition was to make the School as free

\* He also found time in this full term to attend the recently-started Oxford Old Boys' Dinner, held in Mr. Hiley's rooms at 47 Iffley Road.

from punishment as possible; and the improvement in conduct was quickly evident.<sup>300</sup> In this process he received the loyal support of the staff. Yet the changeover to a new headmaster brought its inevitable difficulties among the assistant masters, a problem accentuated by certain features of the Leighton régime.<sup>301</sup> There was, for example, the question of Tuesday afternoons, when by established tradition the boys came to school and nearly all the masters did not. The boys were divided into two flocks: one flock did "singing" with C. W. Stear, the other flock did "drawing" with J. G. Holmes. When it was suggested that this farcical arrangement could not continue, and when an hour's more rational school work was introduced on Tuesday afternoons, one section of the staff—some of them excellent and devoted teachers—complained bitterly that they were being deprived of a valued privilege. There were a few staff changes, the most important of which was the departure of J. G. Holmes, who for several years past had contrived to "run" the Boarding House, the Preparatory School and the Cadet Corps and even to teach as well.<sup>302</sup> But the loyalty of the great body of masters—of men like Muschamp (who had begun his teaching in the School seven years before this new young headmaster had been born) and Beames, H. G. Ford, an admirable teacher of the average boy, and G. J. B. Westcott, later Senior Master—was quickly won and held by a policy whose merits and success commanded respect, and by a man who gave whole-hearted support to all that was done for the School and who never called on anyone to do something without working equally hard himself.<sup>303</sup>

Beyond the School community lay the city whose grammar school it was, and another task of the new régime was to regain the esteem of Bristol. Here at least the newcomer had one advantage; any change at the top, by contrast with the preceding era, was bound—at first—to be seen as beneficial, simply because it was a change; and so in the first term of 1906–7 the total numbers rose to 207, the highest figure for nine years, and the new entrants to 45, the highest for twenty-six years. This was good. But it was even better that only ten boys left before the end of the School year—a low figure quite unparalleled since the School went to Tyndalls Park.<sup>304</sup> It was a mark of Bristol's

confidence in the new Headmaster. There were still many obstacles to overcome here, the greatest of them being the snobbery which cleft and compartmentalized Bristol society in Edwardian days. It could be neither ignored nor laughed at. At one level it required that brothers from those rare homes where one son went to Clifton College and another to the Grammar School should not speak if they met by chance in the street. At another it led to the curious belief among many old boys of the School that all who were admitted before the Balfour Act (which opened the door to more boys from what it remained snobbish custom to call the "Board Schools") were gentlemen, and that all who came after were not.<sup>305</sup> It was a factor that had done harm in Leighton's day, and it might have been a serious brake on recovery—had the momentum of recovery been less.

But that momentum increased, not diminished, as the remainder of this first year passed. In the spring of 1907 the new house system came into operation, displacing Leighton's divisions, which were beginning to become unworkable with the expansion of the city and the migrations of its inhabitants. Four houses were created, called indifferently I, II, III, and IV, under four housemasters (Beames, Ford, H. A. M. Parker, and W. A. Freeman); the boys adopted the masters' names as the distinguishing mark, and the system succeeded at once, leading to an immediate increase of enthusiasm for hockey, now once more the School's spring-term game.<sup>306</sup> Plans were made to organize and encourage swimming; to have the four senior assistant masters of Leeds Grammar School examine all the School except the VIth and part of the Vth; and to take over in September, 1908, the Merchant Venturers' Preparatory School in Kingsdown Parade.<sup>307</sup> As the spring changed into summer, so came more signs of the new spirit at work. The Sports, organized under the new house system, attracted a much larger entry than in previous years; their new features included the Clifton Zoo Band, a large marquee for refreshments, and a Baby Race.<sup>308</sup> The cricket season had its innovations, too. There were two matches between the XI and the Masters: each was won by the Masters, and it is noteworthy that in his two innings the Headmaster scored 192 runs (118 and 74), without being out—though the honesty or partisanship of the *Chronicle* reporter compelled

him to say on the second occasion that "He should, however, have been out several times." Moreover, Mrs. Norwood introduced the custom of providing tea for the XI and their opponents in School matches.<sup>309</sup> On Empire Day the Headmaster announced his intention of taking personal command of the Cadet Corps in the following term.<sup>310</sup> In the August *Chronicle* the School Notes announced that the Carpenter's Shop which was now built, would be equipped in the holidays and in regular use by junior classes in the coming term; and that "increasing numbers will make necessary an extra form in the Middle School next term."

Nor was this all. The Governors' minutes of June and July contained three items of much significance to the future well-being of the School.<sup>311</sup> The first records the submission of the plans for a new Pavilion in Tyndalls Park, to be presented by the Old Boys. Most welcome in itself, it would replace the erection known as "the cowshed"; it was also the harbinger of greater building projects. Secondly, in July a new scheme of increased masters' salaries was drawn up. Thirdly, also in July, the Board of Education issued its new regulations for secondary schools, making it possible for the School to obtain a greater grant-in-aid, on condition that not less than 25 per cent "free place" pupils were admitted. This brought some anxious and controversial discussions among the Governors, until the Board agreed to give recognition for grant at a higher rate in return for the provision of 10 per cent "free places." The immediate result was that the Board's grant for 1908 was between three and four times as large as that of 1907.

It had been a remarkable year, certainly the most notable in the School's history since it was re-opened in 1848. The future was uncertain still, for all—Governors, masters, boys, citizens of Bristol—could see and feel that this was only a beginning. But, as the principal architect of the change said in his first annual report to his Governors, "in every direction the ground seems cleared."<sup>312</sup> Twelve months before men talked of bankruptcy and ruin. Now there was sober confidence and good hope, for the School had recovered heart.

External factors, too, were encouraging. The 1890s had been difficult years for grammar schools; by contrast, the first decade

of the twentieth century was one of the creative periods in English education, bringing the Balfour Act, the "free place" system, and the beginnings of such ancillary activities as the school medical service and school meals. The educational climate of the new century favoured secondary schools and acted as a tonic to the endowed grammar schools; and the help which they received, for example, through the Board of Education Regulations of 1907 was a tangible sign of the new conditions. It meant, furthermore, that schools like Bristol Grammar School were entering a sphere of greater responsibility to the whole community, by opening their doors more widely to boys of every class. The nineteenth-century interpretation of a grammar school as a school effectively limited to the children of the middle class was slowly beginning to come under attack in these days when Labour members were winning seats in the Commons, and Lloyd George was preparing the People's Budget. This interpretation had never been wholly accepted at Bristol since the foundation of the Peloquin Scholarships, and now the admission of "free place" boys made it still less appropriate.

The new educational forces did not find expression merely in the widening of State action. The provincial universities, tentative in their infant years at the end of the nineteenth century, were now established and healthy. Bristol's own university, chartered in 1909, had built its home just across the road from Tyndalls Park, and it was to exert an increasingly powerful influence upon boys of the Grammar School, attracting them in later years to its science departments in particular. This expansion of university education was a great stimulus to the grammar schools, leading ultimately to an extension of school life for many boys who would not otherwise have gone into a sixth form; and it brought also for the average (though not for the best) boys on the "Modern" and "Science" sides a higher standard of achievement. Nor was this the only direction in which grammar-school activities were beginning to expand in these years. The whole concept of school education was becoming wider. Intellectual development in its narrow sense was ceasing to be virtually the sole purpose of the day school. Organized games had already decisively destroyed its monopoly, and a wide range of other school activities was developing in response

to the growing belief that the purpose of the school was to educate the whole boy rather than an abstraction called his "mental faculties."

Contemporary changes contributed powerfully here. In the political sphere Great Britain's departure from "splendid isolation" and the mounting tension of international affairs stimulated the growth of Cadet Corps and the establishment of the Officers' Training Corps.\* Mafeking publicized Baden-Powell, and Baden-Powell's inspiration set light to the Scout Movement. The swift technical progress of these years—the years of the electric tram, the early motor-car, the beginnings of cinema, wireless telegraphy and aeroplane—provided an environment of startling novelty and fascination, which could hardly fail to provoke the formation of Science Societies, Photographic Clubs and the like in schools. The newly-born "Penny press," that alarming offspring of the marriage between modern science and W. E. Forster's Education Act, did much to multiply the points of contact between the average grammar-school boy and the greater world. The *Daily Mail*, may, as Lord Salisbury put it in his famous gibe, have been "written by office-boys for office-boys," but it had important effects on grammar-school boys as well. For the cheap newspapers—though slowly and indirectly—helped to overturn those artificial barriers which made school one place and the "real" world quite another. By giving publicity to the varying heroisms of such men as the Wright Brothers and Captain Scott, they extended the horizons of the average boy. So, too, in different fashion, did the crop of boys' papers which burst forth at this time,<sup>313</sup> with new planets, lost cities, and incredible inventions, with German spies and sinister Chinamen, with Sexton Blake and his ceaseless triumphs. The days of Tom Brown were gone. Such changes in their various ways heralded and compelled a widening of the outlook and activities of schools.

This widening was to make its emphatic appearance at Bristol in the years between 1906 and 1914. But to be effective it needed

\* Bristol provides an interesting direct example of this. One reason why the new Headmaster was so ardent a champion of the Cadet Corps lay in his experience as a civil servant. He had entered the Admiralty within a year of the publication of the First German Naval Law of 1898; and his work there had brought him into contact with Admiral Sturdee and others who saw in this a formidable threat to British security.

more boys and more buildings; and the same argument applied at least as powerfully to the academic work of the School. So far as the boys were concerned, it was clear from the start of the new régime that they would come; for the increase in numbers, as the Chairman of Governors put it at Speech Day, 1907, "showed the citizens' approval and confidence in the choice which has been made."<sup>314</sup> It continued amazingly. The 207 of the winter term of 1907 had become 275 twelve months later; in September, 1908, a new entry of 72 took the total to 337. This was a figure unequalled in the previous twenty-five years.<sup>315</sup> It was also a figure which stretched the existing facilities of the School—the seven classrooms, the two laboratories and the new-made carpenter's shop, the ambiguous teaching accommodation offered by the Great Hall, the poor and insufficient games-field—to their limits. That further increase in numbers which it was reasonable to anticipate could not be coped with—except by new buildings. New buildings would involve a great financial outlay which the Governors could not afford.

The Governors, acting with a zeal and foresight which contrasts sharply with their lethargy and timidity some twenty years earlier, spent much time discussing ways and means in the winter of 1907-8.<sup>316</sup> They could—and did—raise tuition fees, to £12 per annum, the first of a succession of increases in this century. They could request the Board of Education for a grant-in-aid, asking the Bristol Education Committee to support the application; but they preferred other courses, and in January, 1908, they produced a scheme for a new wing to accommodate some 200 boys. A principal contribution to its expense would be found by mortgaging part of the remnants of the original endowment—lands at Brislington, in an area of the city where much industrial expansion was occurring in these years. It was at this point that there occurred the first of those strokes of timely benevolence which distinguish this period in the School's history. In February it was announced that Fenwick Richards, a member of the governing body, would give £3000 to provide for the first stages of the new construction. Some months later he raised his gift to £4000, and in the following year he undertook complete responsibility for the cost of the new wing.

Fenwick Richards stands second to Robert Thorne among the

School's benefactors.<sup>317</sup> Like Thorne, he embodied the commercial enterprise and success of his age. A native of Lelant in Cornwall, he came to Bristol as a young man, entered the tobacco trade and eventually became general manager to W. D. and H. O. Wills, Ltd. He bought the concern of Bigg and Co., and became a director of the business formed by its amalgamation with Edwards, Ringer and Co.—a business which ultimately, like Wills's own firm, became part of the giant combine, the Imperial Tobacco Company. Fortune came to him while he was still relatively young, and with it came the leisure which enabled him to give abundantly of his wealth, his time and his wisdom to the service of the city. The General Hospital, the Bristol Dispensary, and the Red Maids School all owe him much, and he was for long the Chairman of the Charity Trustees. The Grammar School had already, before 1908, enjoyed his munificence. In 1895 and 1900 he had given £950 to be invested in order to augment the John Naish Sanders Exhibition, founded in 1866, to contribute towards the university or other further education of Grammar School boys; and in 1900 also he gave a further £1290, the income from which was to provide one annual scholarship open to boys under 15 years of age for whom school fees had been paid for eight consecutive terms at least immediately preceding the award, without aid from public funds. The emphasis on self-help explicit in this final stipulation was characteristic of the man; so too was the modesty which contrived that, in the words of Sir Cyril Norwood, "he always had a pressing engagement at Torquay, if he thought there was the slightest risk of his being publicly thanked."<sup>\*318</sup>

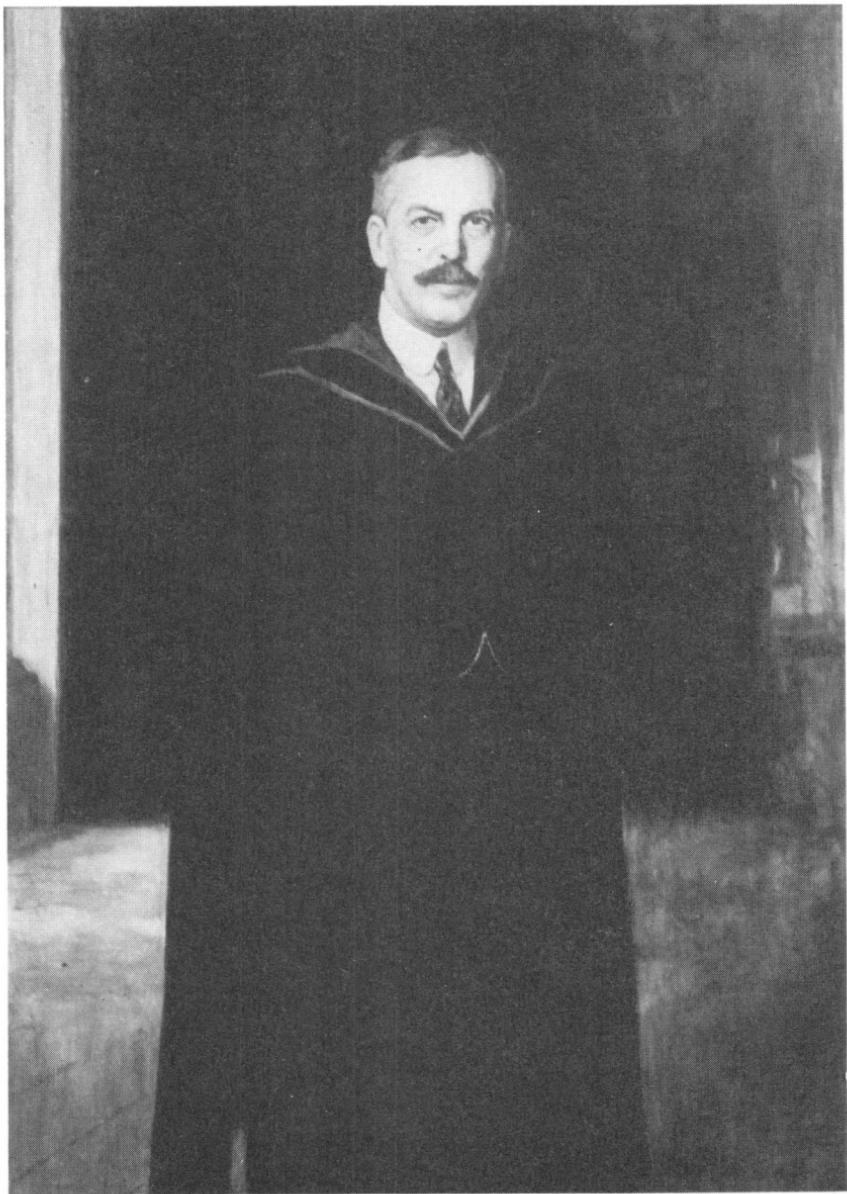
Work began on the Fenwick Richards wing in 1908, and on 27th March, 1909, it was formally opened by Sir H. Llewellyn Smith. Its donor was absent. Similar in style and in material to the existing building, it consisted at that time (its uses have been somewhat altered since) of four new classrooms, a dining-hall with kitchen, and a laboratory for elementary science. The earlier of the two major extensions of classroom space that have taken place at Tyndalls Park, it provided a vital alleviation of

\* He had one agreeable foible—a detestation of Summer Time. When it was first introduced, in 1916, he appeared at the School, watch in hand, convinced that the entire establishment must be in a state of utter confusion. He was also Chairman of the local Gas Company; and not until his death did the Headmaster's House get electric light.



*Photograph by J. W. Thomas*

PLATE VII. THE GREAT HALL



*Photograph by Roger Gilmour*

PLATE VIII. SIR CYRIL NORWOOD  
Headmaster, 1906-16.  
*From the portrait by George Harcourt, R.A.*

the problem created by the rise in numbers, and made it possible to take 380 boys in the following December. It would be only an alleviation: a reminder of this came in May, 1909, when it was found necessary to move the Preparatory School from Kingsdown and place its boys in the Great Hall. Meanwhile, in fact three months before the Fenwick Richards Wing was opened, another new building had been erected at Tyndalls Park. In December, 1908, the new Pavilion, the gift of the Old Boys' Society, had been opened: here again the material was Brandon stone although the style was Georgian. The occasion enabled the Headmaster to comment neatly on the progress of his régime, saying: "If 1907 was a year of promise, 1908 was a year of performance, and 1909, I hope, is going to be the beginning of years of fruition."<sup>319</sup>

The Pavilion and the new wing were the first-fruits of a remarkable series of benefactions, such as can rarely have fallen to the lot of any school in so short a time. In the autumn of 1909 the beginnings of another notable gift appeared, when Lionel Crawford, O.B., presented the School with £150 for the building of a miniature rifle range. There were difficulties about the site, but these actually led to a further extension of the project; and in 1910 a scheme was announced to provide a gymnasium, a rifle range, three covered fives courts, and a bicycle shed. The total cost would be a little over £2000; in fact, A. M. Fry, a Governor, paid for the fives courts and Fenwick Richards ("having observed the bewildering mountain of bicycles which piles itself up daily at 9 a.m. in the entrance hall") for the bicycle shed, and numerous Old Boys and friends of the School met the cost of the gymnasium. This group of buildings was opened early in 1911. The Bristol *Observer* noted with regret the disappearance of tall elms and grassland which it involved, but consoled its readers by the reflection that the new gymnasium was "splendidly equipped with every contrivance which the Swedish system necessitates."<sup>320</sup>

Before these buildings were in use, yet another plan was being conceived. Early in 1910 the Board of Education carried out a full inspection of the School, and when the Inspectors reported in May they recommended—in view of the increased numbers and the rapid growth of the School's reputation since 1906—a great extension of buildings and equipment. They mentioned

particularly new laboratories, a new art-room, more classrooms, a better common-room and more cloak-room accommodation. The Governors lacked the money to fulfil so ambitious a scheme, although they did carry out minor modifications, such as spending £100 on equipping a classroom as an art-room. They discussed the problem, and in June, 1911, they wrote at length to the Board of Education, pointing out that, although the School was financially better off, it was still in debt, and that of the more than £9000 spent on buildings during the last five years, nearly £8000 had come from the generosity of private benefactors.<sup>321</sup> Then, once again at the very time of need, with the School's numbers now (1911) over 400 and all prospects good except the financial one, came "a veritable *dea ex machina*," Miss (later Dame) Janet Stancomb Wills, who offered to give £10,000 to be spent on building and equipping a science and art wing as a memorial to her father, the late Lord Winterstoke (who had, as W. H. Wills, been the donor of the School's organ and of prizes for Mathematics and Modern Languages, and part-donor of the clock and the peal of bells in the School tower).<sup>322</sup>

In December, 1911, the Editor of the *Chronicle* was able to say: "No new buildings have been added to the School this term, but the presence of two large heaps of stones on the field reminds us that before long builders will be at work again, this time to complete the wing which is made possible through the magnificent gift of £10,000 by Miss Stancomb Wills." Work on the Winterstoke Wing was somewhat slow in proceeding, and the *Chronicle* exploited the great "British Workmen" joke a trifle heavily in 1913. But in the spring of 1914 Miss Stancomb Wills herself opened the new building. The *Chronicle* commented favourably: "While the new buildings harmonize wonderfully with the exterior of the old School, within they are constructed on the latest and most approved designs. Oxygen and hygiene are the prevailing note." The Winterstoke Wing, built like the remainder of the buildings in Brandon stone, brought some degree of balance to that eastern end of the School's buildings lying along University Road. Much of it consisted of additional laboratories, as well as one of the finest art-rooms in the country and further classrooms. At its opening the Chairman of the Governors, now (since 1913) Fenwick Richards, expressed the

view that the School would henceforward have ample room for some 500 pupils; and the Headmaster described "the future of the School, on the material side of its equipment" as "absolutely certain. It was possible at once to transfer to new classrooms the boys of the Preparatory School who had for several years been accommodated in the Great Hall. The Winterstoke Wing was a timely benefaction in another way also; a very little later its building would have been impossible—for the year was 1914.<sup>323</sup>

Its coming had been overtaken by yet another major development. In the winter of 1910-11 further levelling of the Tyndalls Park playing-field had taken place, and its surface had been considerably improved.<sup>324</sup> But the rising number of boys made this particular problem no longer one of quality, but rather of sheer space: it was evident that the School urgently needed a new field. There was nothing available in the immediate neighbourhood of the School, and the expansion of Bristol in these years made it imperative to take action swiftly, before all the land suitable for playing-fields fell into the hands of the speculative builders. On Speech Day, 1912, Archdeacon Weekes, the former Rector of Mafeking, expressed the hope that a new playing-field might be presented to the School.\*<sup>325</sup> The rest of the story may be told in the words of an article in the *Chronicle* of July, 1913.

It is now common knowledge that the voice of rumour was substantially correct, and that the School possesses new playing-fields extending over nearly twelve-and-a-half acres on Golden Hill, near Horfield Common; it is common knowledge that they are the gift, the very generous gift of Mr. Melville Wills, and that he will add to this gift a pavilion and quarters for a resident groundsman. . . . Those who think that this sort of gift falls out of the sky upon the heads of the brave and deserving will be interested to know that the first step taken was to mark upon a large-scale map of Bristol the homes of all the boys in the School, and thence to calculate what sites of all that were possible would be most convenient for the majority of the boys. It was discovered that the new ground should

\* He also, as the *Chronicle* reporter put it, "caused considerable confusion among the ranks of the Sixth Forms by stating that in his days Sixth Formers wore beards ('and very respectable beards too') and drank beer."

be between Westbury and Horfield at some point south of a line between the two places. The next step was to go and look at all the pieces of ground which were available in that district, and in all fourteen different sites were examined and criticised: it is believed that the Headmaster can pass the severest Scout's test imaginable on the piece of country in which these sites lie. The site finally chosen and adopted is certainly the healthiest and the largest, and in many other respects the best: the School was very fortunate to get it.

This new Golden Hill ground was first used for football on 1st October, 1913.<sup>326</sup> Henceforward all football was to be played there, and much of the cricket and hockey, although for many years at least most of the 1st XI matches in those games took place in Tyndalls Park. There was, however, a cricket match at Golden Hill on 24th June, 1914, between the XI and the Masters, to celebrate the gift of the new field; it was temporarily stopped at 4.30 to enable Mrs. Norwood to start the Pavilion Clock, the gift of George Langford, O.B.\* Neither the halt nor the Headmaster's "brilliant 40" (out of 98) saved the Masters from defeat.<sup>327</sup> Sports were first run at Golden Hill in 1915.<sup>328</sup> The effect of the new field was immediate and considerable, for it made possible more games for the average boy and better pitches at Tyndalls Park for the XI, and at last put an end to School games on the Downs. Distance from the School was a handicap offset by the position of the ground in relation to the boys' homes.

Such a series of benefactions in so short a time was a majestic stroke of fortune which no school has any right to expect. To one sort of historian it may appear as a belated compensation for the activities of Nicholas Thorne II and Alice Pykes. Another may regard it as an odd fragment of economic history; just as the great churches of the Cotswolds are founded upon wool, so much of the present fabric of Bristol Grammar School is built upon tobacco. A third may see in it the maintenance of an ancient local tradition of mercantile philanthropy, the tradition whose best-known representative is Edward Colston. Certainly

\* The Clock is in one respect unique. It bears, instead of numerals, the twelve letters of the School's motto—EX SPINIS UVAS.

its place in the history of Bristol Grammar School is clear. First, it wrote in enduring stone the truth that the School had under the guidance of Cyril Norwood wholly recovered the confidence of the citizens of Bristol. Secondly, the buildings and extensions which the benefactors so generously gave would in future years provide a fitting home for a School community which had, under the same guidance, recovered its heart.

The *Chronicles* of these years after 1906 abound in evidence which attests the fulness of that recovery. "It was a time of wonderful growth; much that had been dormant broke into life simultaneously."<sup>329</sup> There was something very apposite in the adoption of *Ex Spinis Uvas* as the School's motto in 1909, the year of the first great building extension and the first of the Headmaster's "years of fruition",<sup>330</sup> and it was a natural development that a School Song with its triumphant cry of "Sumus Bristolienenses" should appear the same year, written by the Headmaster and set to music by C. W. Stear. Even those sober memorials, the Governors' minute-books, bear similar witness in the very range of topics upon which they touch. For the hard years were over. A new springtime of the School's life had come, neatly symbolized by the daffodils which all its members wore at the opening of the Fenwick Richards Wing.

The games reflected the change in an increased keenness and an all-round improvement in standard. They were not yet compulsory, but the weary moans of "lack of public spirit" had gone, and the proportion of boys playing had risen; in July, 1910—which was not an abnormal year—well over 250 boys in the Main School and virtually all the Preparatory School boys played cricket, out of a total of 383 in the entire School.<sup>331</sup> Members of the first teams no longer found pressing engagements elsewhere on match days, and competition for places was notably keen. The standard, of course, fluctuated; the period 1908–12 was a lean one for the XV, whereas 1913 saw an unusually good side led by R. C. W. Pickles (and containing two future Brigadiers in its ranks). But the general improvement was undoubtedly great. In 1906 the boys wanted to give up football: before seven years had passed, three boys had won places in the Bristol

R.F.C. XV while they were still at school. The same all-round improvement was evident in the cricket, stimulated no doubt by the appointment of a permanent groundsman in 1909. Match scores were higher, criticisms of poor fielding were sharper. As early as 1908 the captain of cricket commented sternly, "There seemed to creep into the fielding a glimpse of the old-time slackness, which was thought to be fast dying out in the School." The 1st XI fixture list was often unduly long: in 1914 for example they played seventeen matches—but they won thirteen of them, lost only one, and made 305 for 8 against the Old Boys.<sup>332</sup> In hockey the School in these years began to lay the foundation of its later reputation as a nursery of local and Gloucestershire players. As for fives, made possible since 1911, it caught on at once, winning a popularity which it has never lost; and it provided an excellent example of another feature which made these years different from those that had gone before—the participation of many masters in games. School *v.* Masters' matches at cricket, hockey, and fives became customary now, at least until 1914, and the spasmodic assistance of Leighton's later years gave place to regular coaching.

The other "out-of-school" activities expanded almost beyond recognition. School Concerts and Organ Recitals remained as customary events, very much in their traditional form; the Concert of 1912 included a performance of the "Coronation Ode" which, it is a little strange to read, "has finally established Elgar as our great national composer."<sup>333</sup> The Debating Society underwent a transformation, becoming in 1909 the Literary and Debating Society and taking under its wing a wide and curious variety of activities including lectures, photography, whist drives, mock trials, a school parliament (a demonstration rather than a reality), and even something remarkably like music-hall turns.<sup>334</sup> Party political debates lacked the fervour and depth of those of the 'eighties—a phenomenon which can scarcely reflect a shortage of political issues in these days of People's Budget, Parliament Act and Home Rule crises but may rather be attributed to the fact that performers other than politicians were beginning to capture public interest through the press. Yet there were plenty of keen debates; much time was spent on the Suffragettes, and once the Headmaster as President found

himself forced to give a casting vote on this delicate topic.<sup>335</sup> But the most notable achievement of the Literary and Debating Society in these years was the production, on a stage specially constructed in the Great Hall, of two plays—*Macbeth* in 1913 and *She Stoops to Conquer* in 1914. This innovation, which evoked a kindly criticism in the *Chronicle*, might well have become a tradition had war not come in 1914.<sup>336</sup>

New societies and activities proliferated. The Scripture Union was formed in 1907, and the Junior Social Club in 1909.<sup>337</sup> The latter, open to all boys from the Middle IVth Form downwards, met weekly, and discussed and did all manner of things. In its second term, its members read papers on Electricity, Coal Mining, Corfu, Liverpool, and A Porcupine Hunt in South Africa; listened to selections from the writings of Barry Pain and W. W. Jacobs; debated motions “That the Training of Boy Scouts is of Practical Value to the Country” (a tied vote) and “That Rugby is a better school game than Soccer” (lost by 18 to 21); and held one musical evening and one of progressive games. It was an instantaneous and continuing success. The same may be said of an altogether different society, the Cercle Français, formed in 1910.<sup>338</sup> Within a necessarily limited group of boys—for it conducted its proceedings and wrote its reports for the *Chronicle* wholly in French—this showed itself intellectually vigorous and alert. In April, 1914, it reported that “notre président, M. Guerra, nous donna une conférence sur le livre ‘The Great Illusion’ par Norman Angell. Il prouva absolument que la nation victorieuse d’une guerre moderne ruine son marché économique, et en de différentes manières nuit au bien-être de ses habitants.” Then there were the Scouts, whose advent in the city roused the editor of the *Chronicle* in July, 1910, to a protest both snobbish and priggish in tone. “No doubt,” he said, “the movement is excellent for taking boys of a certain class away from the street corners and into the fresh air: but why boys who have the advantages of organized games and a Cadet Corps need to join it, it is difficult to see.” He was beating against the tide: in March, 1912, the “Robert Thorne” Troop was founded at the School. It began with sixty-four members, all of them under 14 years old, and like the other new institutions it flourished exceedingly.<sup>339</sup> There seemed to be no limit to the

range of activities. Once, however, the Governors felt it necessary to impose one. In the winter of 1908, their minutes recorded that "in reply to a letter from Miss Nora Gough proposing the establishment of a Dancing Class in connexion with the School, the Clerk was instructed to say that, as the School was a Day School, the Governors preferred to leave the subject of Dancing to the parents of the boys." It is not surprising to find the Headmaster saying in his annual report of 1913: "The School clubs have gone on well, and though they have been a little pugnacious towards one another I have regarded that as a sign of vitality."<sup>340</sup>

His own interests ranged wide, and his energy was apparently infinite; and it is almost a shock to read in the *Chronicle* of April, 1915, a sentence which begins "Since Dr. Norwood can find no time for fives. . . ." The most striking example of his energy lay in his concern for the Cadet Corps, which he commanded from 1907 to 1913 and again during the war years after 1914. He impressed his personality and standards upon the Corps (which in 1908 adopted as a war-cry the phrase "Cy Noroo") and its numbers increased as steeply and swiftly as its efficiency. In 1913 the *Chronicle* reported the Corps—now since 1908 and Haldane's reforms, the O.T.C. and no longer the Cadet Corps—to be up to full strength and with a waiting list, as it had been for some time.<sup>341</sup>

Two somewhat unusual concerns will serve to round off this sketch of the varied activities of the School community in these years.<sup>342</sup> In December, 1907, the School undertook to support a cot at the Bristol Children's Hospital, to be called the Bristol Grammar School Cot. This was the beginning of a prolonged and continuous charitable effort which lasted until after the Second World War and contributed much to a cause peculiarly fitting to be the concern of a school. By contrast, in April, 1910, the boys contributed £4 to provide a dog for Captain Scott's Antarctic Expedition. At the opening of the Winterstoke Wing in 1914, the Bishop of Bristol, with that happy inconsequence which occasionally distinguishes eminent ecclesiastics on public platforms, announced that he had learned that this particular dog "was by far the finest puller of the whole team; but once off the traces he made straight for the first moving thing he saw." A second B.G.S. dog later went south with Shackleton.

It might be supposed that one result of the extraordinary flowering of varied interests and activities would have been a decline in standards in the one area of the School's life where Leighton had maintained a high level—that of VIth Form scholarship. Nothing of the sort was true. For Leighton's successor was himself a scholar; moreover, the School continued to be served by the best of the men who had trained scholars in Leighton's time—notably by J. G. S. Muschamp who retired as Senior Classical Master in 1914 after forty-six years' work at the School and of whom T. R. Glover said, "One term with Muschamp gave me a feeling for Classics which I never lost."<sup>343</sup> Furthermore, the very extension of these activities indicated a quickening of the intellectual life as well as a renaissance of the spirit of the School. For the potential scholars especially, the two developments moved hand in hand: they were the better scholars—more alert, more receptive, more keyed to their work—because they shared to the full in the wider life of the community. One of the striking characteristics of the Grammar School's scholars of this particular epoch is the prominent parts they played in a wide range of School activities.

Among their number were D. Veale of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the future Registrar of the University of Oxford, H. McGowan of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, the future Bishop of Wakefield, and W. L. Ferrar of Queen's College, Oxford, a mathematician of much distinction. In 1910 the School won its first open scholarship in Modern History; 1912 saw six first-classes go to Old Boys of this period—and also four Old Boys of somewhat earlier generations acting as examiners in the Classical Tripos at Cambridge. In 1913, after three successes at Balliol, the *Chronicle* commented, "During the eighteenth century this School presented Balliol College with £100 in order to assist it in the provision of better quarters for scholars. The generosity of our ancestors is being repaid in this generation." Another Balliol Classical scholar of this time was later to become a Fellow of All Souls. There was no indication here of any decline of scholarly standards.<sup>344</sup>

At the other end of a school which was growing ever larger (413 in July, 1913, 433 in 1914, 458 in 1915) the Preparatory School had now firmly established itself as a lively and effective

unit under H. W. Gough. Originally (1908) housed on Kingsdown Parade, it moved in 1909 to Tyndalls Park and its boys spent much of their lives in the Great Hall until they were able to move into the Winterstoke Wing. Its numbers, thirty-six in 1908, had risen to fifty-two a year later, and by 1910 there were enough boys to be divided into two houses for games; six years later there were 107. Apart from an annual trip to London, most of their recorded proceedings were athletic. In these they achieved at least one distinction, that of the record defeat of any team in the School's history. On 22nd June, 1915, they played Tudor House School. The Preparatory School scored 3, 2 of which were extras: Tudor House scored 162 for 2.<sup>345</sup>

The First World War fell upon the School, as upon the rest of England, with abrupt suddenness. The "Robert Thorne" Scouts were the first to experience its effects, for on 29th July, 1914, they had set up camp at Boulogne. On the 31st "rumours began to circulate in the town and sentries with fixed bayonets sprang up everywhere like mushrooms"; on 1st August they witnessed the posting of the general mobilization order in Boulogne; and on the 3rd they came back to England—and saw the periscope of a submarine on their crossing. "Soon afterwards we reached Folkestone, and we now understand, and we shall never forget, the terrible meaning abroad of the word 'mobilization.'"<sup>346</sup>

The war had certain obvious effects on the daily life of the School. It removed an increasing proportion of the staff—four at once, and others thereafter. The entry of senior boys into the armed forces reduced the average age-level of the School. The *Chronicle* began to give much of its space to reports of Old Boys who were fighting, and recorded two Victoria Crosses, awarded to M. Angell James and F. W. Lumsden. It also contained more sentimental verse and some anti-German cartoons; though the principal literary impression its wartime numbers convey is of a kind of nervy, almost antic, cleverness, the reaction of able and sensitive boys who knew the ordeal ahead of them. Senior boys spent much time on rifle practice and, later in the war, went in the holidays to work on the land at flax-pulling. Lighting regulations restricted the times and places of society meetings. Games suffered from the absence of young masters, and from the

limitations upon fixtures: the XV, in particular, from the youth and lightness of its members. The Carpenters' Shop spent its time making crutches; the Cot Collection of 1915 was to endow a cot in memory of Nurse Cavell; and the Scouts were busily occupied in miscellaneous activities ranging from guarding bridges to collecting funds for destitute Belgians (though they found time and energy to go to camp at Chew Magna).

Yet it would be misleading to suggest that this First World War gravely interrupted the work of the School. There was much truth in the remark of the editor of the *Chronicle* in July, 1915, that "the life of the School progresses as usual, in fact if anything a little more than usual." For new societies were founded: in September, 1915, the Science Society was launched as "the only School Society whose members may proudly boast that they meet to do things, not to talk about them," and within a few months a Musical Society followed. Rowing was restarted: the School oarsmen enjoyed virtually undisturbed use of the boathouse of a club whose members had gone to the war, but they were without racing opponents. Even building did not entirely stop. The ceaseless generosity of Fenwick Richards endowed the School in 1915 with a new bicycle shed, which, in the words of the *Chronicle* is "solid enough to last until the day when boys will come to school each in his own aeroplane." The need for this was a reflection of the problems created by the swelling size of the School. In the spring of 1915 the Governors decided that they could not go beyond 450 places: but pressure could not be resisted, and by the end of 1916 there were no less than 528 boys in the School. The figure was scarcely an index of decline.<sup>347</sup>

In 1912 the University of Bristol conferred upon the Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature. It was a tribute to his scholarship and to the wide range of his activities in the city—but most notably to his work at the School, and, through the School, for English education. For the young and untried man whom the Governors had chosen in 1906 had already established himself as one of the outstanding headmasters of the day. It was therefore not surprising that in the late summer of 1916 he should be invited to become Master

of Marlborough College. The news of his acceptance of this invitation was a blow to all connected with the Grammar School, so completely was the era of recovery identified with him.

In his final report to the Governors in December, 1916, Dr. Norwood summarized the facts of that recovery.<sup>348</sup>

In laying down my responsibility I recognize with thankfulness the success that has attended the School in the last ten years. It is a school of which I am very proud, and I hope that this pride will not be thought to be vainglorious. I am well aware that a schoolmaster of ordinary experience, tact, and industry could hardly have failed to make considerable improvement on the conditions of 1906, and I am certain that the greatest educational genius could not have done much without the great benevolence of Governors, citizens, and friends of Bristol that has been given to the School in my time in such unstinted measure. I have been strongly supported by masters and boys throughout, and after the first anxious year or two my work has always been made easy for me. So it has come about that in place of the 185 boys of 1906 there are the present 528: instead of the three makeshift laboratories and seven classrooms the four splendid laboratories, the Art Room, the Carpenters' Shop and the nineteen classrooms of to-day: instead of the cramped and wholly inadequate conditions for games and physical training the two new Pavilions, the Fives Courts, the Gymnasium, the Rifle Range, and the new Playing Fields: instead of inadequate and unworthy accommodation we have the new lavatories, the new latrines, the new cloakrooms: we possess new scholarships and several new prizes: we have a library of several hundred volumes and the School covered with pictures where there was not a picture or a book in 1906. At the same time there is not a salary on the staff that has not been materially raised, though one naturally hopes that more may be done in this direction. More than all this, I think, indeed I know, that I can fairly claim that the whole spirit of the School is changed, and its whole status lifted and established on a higher level: *The Times* said no more than the truth when it referred to it this year as one of the best day-schools of the country.

It is because this is the happy result of the united labour of many, of Governors and Headmaster, of masters and boys, of Old Boys and Bristol citizens, that I feel I can speak of this without boasting.

A generation, a long and difficult generation in which many standards have been transformed and many accepted canons of educational judgment superseded, has passed since that statement was made: yet the experience of the School has simply underlined the truth and permanence of the claims which it contains. The "Norwood era" has passed into history, and it is the vital part of the modern history of the School. It is fitting that its buildings should fill more of the Tyndalls Park site than those of the original Caldicott block. Yet the buildings matter less than the new heart, the new assurance which justified them and made them possible. Where Caldicott had created a myth, Dr. Norwood had recreated a school. From Bristol he moved on to great distinction, first at Marlborough, then as Headmaster of Harrow, as President of St. John's College, Oxford, and as one of the most eminent educationists of the age. To the Grammar School he will always remain the headmaster who by faith, vision, and leadership, saved it from extinction; in the words of one of his successors, Mr. John Garrett, he was "the man to whom the School owes more than to anyone else since its first founder."<sup>349</sup>

## *Chapter VIII*

1917-1950

THE Norwood era was a true renaissance. Its supreme legacy was a mature and strong power of development, the corporate possession of a healthy community. It was well that this was so. For the years that followed Dr. Norwood's departure from Bristol were to subject the School, its members and its standards, to severe trials. The ending of one great war and the coming of a second accompanied by direct peril to boys and buildings; two periods of post-war reconstruction; several spells of austerity and one dire economic depression; a host of educational reforms in matters great and small; an unparalleled rate of social change, dissolving ancient customs and beliefs and creating a new and complex environment for children—all these things posed great problems to those responsible for the destiny of the School. It was a period of challenge—and of challenge to which the School responded with high success. For the assurance with which Dr. Norwood had inspired it during his ten years in office was a living tradition. So in the generation which followed the School sought and upheld high academic standards, and enjoyed a vigorous and many-sided corporate life. It maintained a steady flow of scholars to the universities, and continued to send great numbers of its sons to posts of responsibility in the working life of their own city. Further—and this was of the essence of renaissance—in certain important directions it expanded its activities, widening its range without diminishing the force of its central purpose.

The School was happy in Dr. Norwood's successor. The Governors boldly defied the omen of 1883 and once again selected the Headmaster of Wakefield Grammar School. Mr. Joseph Edwin Barton, an old boy of the Crypt Grammar School, Gloucester, had had a distinguished career at Pembroke College, Oxford, taking firsts in Classical Moderations and in "Greats" and winning the Newdigate Prize for English verse. From Oxford

he had gone to Bradford Grammar School where he was Sixth Form master at a time when that school was winning many classical successes. In 1906 he had returned to the Crypt as Headmaster, and in 1910 he had been appointed to Wakefield. The Bristol press welcomed him as a westcountryman coming home; they mentioned favourably his addiction to golf and added that "as a lecturer he is said to be in the highest degree stimulating and luminous."<sup>350</sup>

His credentials were high. But this was the very barest of truth. Nearly twenty-two years later, in the *Chronicle* of July, 1938, Idris Deane Jones—Mr. Barton's first head boy at Bristol, later Senior Tutor of Merton College, Oxford, and the ablest historian whom the School has produced in the twentieth century—described the impact of the new Headmaster upon the School.

It is no small tribute to the strength as well as to the geniality of Mr. Barton's personality that the loyal disciples of Dr. Norwood felt within a few weeks that there was something in the new man, too. I still have a clear picture in my mind of Mr. Barton's first appearance before the School, when the departing Headmaster introduced to us his successor. Our critical eyes saw, by the side of the spare and august figure we knew, a shorter, more substantial person, with ruddier cheeks and more than the suspicion of a nautical roll. The voice was the next shock; after the quiet sardonic accents, a higher, more vibrant note with an occasional startling twang. There were more shocks to come—for instance, that now famous passionate dislike of fresh air, the air of Henbury Hill alone excepted.\* I forget what we said about our first impressions, but if we had known the words that G. M. Trevelyan had applied to a more exalted, if less respectable personage of the past, they would have fitted our case; "the comic spirit had landed on our coast." We were a serious young company, and the winter of 1916-17 was a serious enough time for intense and excitable boys waiting their turn to enter the forces; into that atmosphere the new Headmaster's robust

\* "Mr. Barton used to come in with his overcoat on, shut all the windows, and send for the Sergeant because there was a draught." Sir Ivor Jennings, O.B., at the Old Boys' Dinner, March, 1949.

sense of humour broke at first with an unwelcome shock, soon with delighted discovery. It would be unjust to suggest that this was the whole Barton, but that fount of humour was the outward sign of a sane humanity and a genial warmth which were precious assets to the School in the closing years of the war.

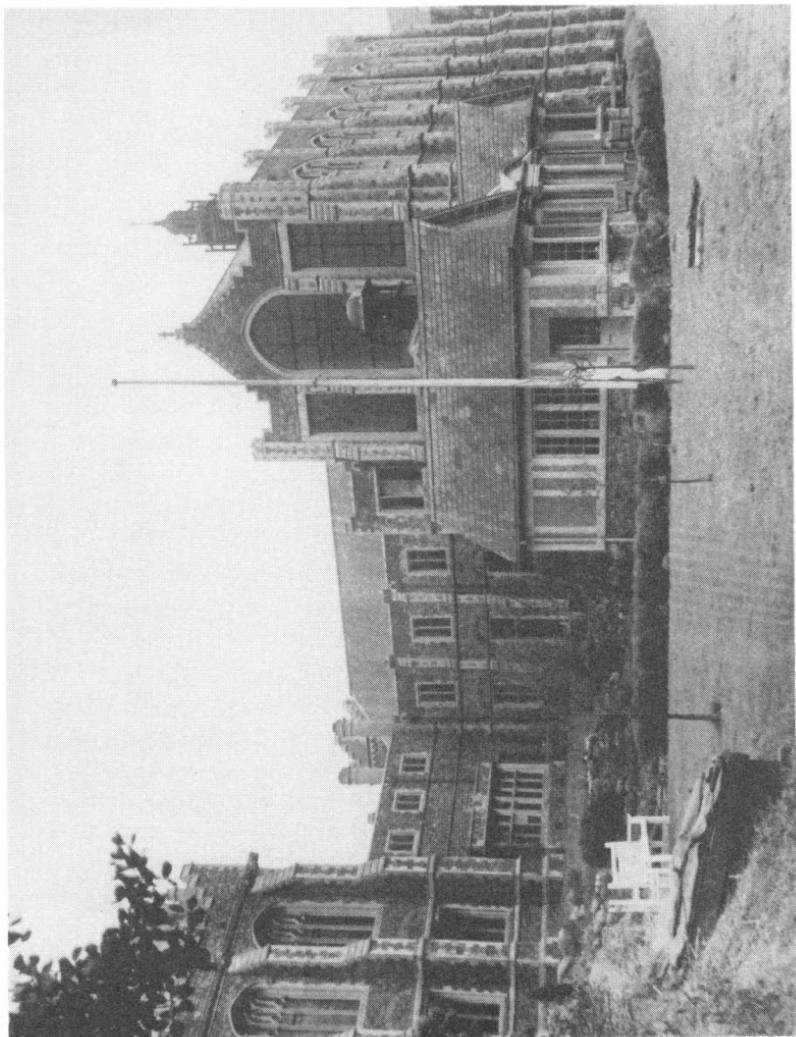
They were to prove abiding assets, bearing rich interest in the education of several generations of Grammar School boys.

Mr. Barton remained as Headmaster for twenty-one years, until his retirement in the summer of 1938. It is obvious that in one respect his task would be exceptionally difficult: he had to follow a brilliant predecessor. He did not fail. The secret of his success lay in an unusual blend of traditionalism and unorthodoxy in a personality at once individualist and humane. A fine scholar, he was amply qualified to maintain the high classical reputation of the School. Yet he became a great devotee of the cinema; and there was no incongruity here, for culture and learning were to him the roots of living appreciation and criticism. He was a magnificently inspiring teacher of English, opening wide and for ever to hundreds of boys the gates of their national heritage of literature;<sup>351</sup> and it was his peculiar glory that many of these boys were scientists. His humanity, his varied interests, and his vivid power as a lecturer quickly made him popular and respected in the city of Bristol, and here he did the School immense service as an ambassador. As an after-dinner speaker he was superb. Behind these gifts, often unduly obscured by them, lay other qualities essential to the successful conduct of a great school—a deep educational experience, an informed understanding of the educational issues of his day, and a shrewd judgment of affairs.

There was also what he has called his “own particular obsession”—his devotion to art and his evangelism of art-appreciation. Here he attained a national, indeed a world-wide, reputation by his broadcast lectures, and his book, *Purpose and Admiration*.\* It was good for the School to have as its headmaster a man who

\* The author recalls vividly the excitement with which as a sixth-form boy at boarding-school in the early 1930s he heard Mr. Barton's broadcast lectures on “Modern Art.” It is for him a permanent debt which it is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge in these pages.

PLATE IX. TYNDALLS PARK, PAVILION AND WINTERSTOKE WINING  
*Photograph by Roger Gilmour*





*Photograph by Audrey Pearson*  
PLATE X. JOSEPH EDWIN BARTON, ESQ.  
Headmaster, 1917-38.

did pioneer work of this kind; and it was of course even better that he put his gospel into daily practice in the School itself. He introduced art-appreciation as a regular feature of the work in the upper forms, aided by excellent terminal wall-displays in the Art Room and by generous gifts of good prints from Governors and friends of the School. The results of such activity cannot well be measured. It impressed the School profoundly. One distinguished O.B. of these years, Sir W. Ivor Jennings, who became an eminent constitutional lawyer and first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon, has felicitously called this "the Architectural Period" of the School's history, and Mr. Barton himself tells the tale of the boy who went home and said to his father, "No matter what subject the Head begins with, he always ends up with architecture." Certainly many a Bristol boy of this time gained a lasting enrichment of mind and soul in a way possible in no other school, simply because Mr. Barton believed deeply that what he has called "the art of just looking" could be taught.<sup>352</sup>

Writing thirty years later, Mr. Barton recalled the somewhat dispiriting circumstances of his arrival.<sup>353</sup>

I came to Bristol in a very cold January, 1917, when street lighting was dimmed by war regulations, and the School clock forbidden to strike, lest it might excite the interest of hovering zeppelins. The School had something like 520 boys, and the Prep. contingent of this number occupied the lower corridor of the Winterstoke Wing. There was no electric light in the School House, and many parts of the School were still lingering in the incandescent gas period. This I recall particularly, from the damage caused to all mantels in the classrooms below the Great Hall by the stamping exuberance of our Armistice Day assembly, summoned immediately the big news had been declared, and rapturous in the belief that the war to end war had achieved its aim.

His early years in office were necessarily overshadowed by the First World War. The daily life of the School continued in full vigour through 1917-18; but meanwhile the casualty-lists mounted. Of over 700 O.B.s who were in the armed forces

120 died: more than 90 of these had been at the School in Dr. Norwood's time. In 1922 their names were commemorated on bronze tablets set in an oak screen across the transept of the Great Hall: its design, in the modern Gothic manner of the building, was a gift from G. C. Lawrence, O.B.<sup>354</sup>

The return of peace set before Headmaster and Governors a tangle of problems. Many of them were financial, reflecting rising prices of every item in the School's budget from coal to staff salaries;\* others, intertwined, were administrative, involving negotiations with the Board of Education and the local authorities of Bristol and its neighbouring counties over fees, salaries, free places, and other matters. The Governors' deliberations in these years illustrate admirably two features of English education—the debt which the grammar schools in particular owe to the wise counsel and hard work of men who make no claim to expert knowledge of education, and the delicate complexity of the system of grants-in-aid. The results of all this activity were important rather than exciting, including the establishment in 1920 of a new constitution for the governing body (providing for twenty-one Governors in all, thirteen of whom were to represent the Municipal Charity Trustees, seven the Bristol Education Committee, and one the teaching staff of the School) and the adoption in 1922 of the Burnham Scale of salaries.<sup>356</sup> It is of some significance that financial aid from the Bristol local authority, which had begun at the time of the "whisky money," ended in 1923. From 1921 onwards the grants from the Board of Education, which originated in 1906, came on an increased scale, providing, in an average year, something like one-fifth of the School's income.

This last development reflected the trend of the age towards an increased public concern for the old-fashioned grammar schools: it did not indicate the extent to which the School was in fact co-operating with the national system. At Prize Day, 1921, the Lord Mayor of Bristol called it "the cap of the structure" of Bristol education, and expressed pleasure that 260 of its 700 boys had come from the city's elementary schools.<sup>357</sup> This was a great and desirable change from the mere handful of twenty

\* In 1879 the School was buying coal at 8s. 6d. per ton. In 1921 the Governors paid 56s. 6d. per ton for house coal.<sup>355</sup>

years earlier; and it represented a proportion that was to be approximately maintained until the developments of the 1940s. Moreover, the absurd snobbery of Leighton's years was now stone dead in the daily life of the School. "Free-placers" and other ex-elementary school entrants were completely absorbed among their fellows. This widening of the social basis of the School was progress which in its own way was at least as important, and as faithful to the highest traditions of English grammar schools, as the contemporary academic successes.

It was natural that the twenty years after 1918 should see less building development than the ten years before that date. There were now no arrears of neglect to be overtaken, nor was there the urgency, for survival no longer depended upon swift expansion. Nevertheless the School remained short of accommodation. Numbers rose during the war, since the Governors, who had previously fixed 520 as the maximum, felt obliged to admit all qualified candidates in view of the departure of older boys to military service. In December, 1917, there were 592 boys: two years later there were 690. The pressure was tightest at the lower end of the School, where by 1920 the Preparatory School contained 175 boys and could fairly be described as "quite full"; and as early as Prize Day, 1917, Mr. Barton had said that "in the event of another of those miracles of generosity which had been so delightfully lavished on the School in the past, it was felt by the Governors and all who knew the conditions of the School that the addition should take the form of fresh accommodation on the School site for the preparatory school boys."<sup>358</sup> The miracle came and once again the miracle-worker was Fenwick Richards. In 1919 this most generous of the School's friends offered to provide new buildings for the Preparatory School. The difficulties of the post-war years delayed the project, and not until 1925 could the Governors decide to press forward with it. The original intention was to build on the University Road side of Tyndalls Park; later judgment chose the Elton Road side, plans were submitted in 1926, and by 1928 the building was completed and opened. Unhappily, its donor had died in 1927. A memorial tablet recorded his generosity in this last and finest of his benefactions.<sup>359</sup>

The new building, in style and stone similar to the main block, contained a lecture-room as well as classroom accommodation for 220 boys. Fate was to make its life short: twelve years later the incendiary bombs of the Second World War reduced most of it to a shell. Nevertheless its brief existence made effective contribution to the School's history. It gave the Preparatory School a real independence and thus made possible for the small boys a greater confidence and a more intimate loyalty than they could readily develop in a part of the main buildings: and it provided the entire School with a convenient and much-needed lecture hall. Further, it opened the way to an increase in total numbers, which rose from 720 in 1928 to 800 in 1932. This increase brought its own problems, yet it enabled the School to respond more effectively to Bristol's demand for places. In one respect the freeing of space in the main building was particularly important for the future. The average length of school life was beginning to rise, because a greater proportion of boys were staying on after the age of 16: it was a trend which was to gather momentum in the later 1930s, and to present a very difficult administrative problem in the 1940s.

Pressure of numbers made itself felt on the playing-fields as well as in the buildings. Here the School was fortunate enough to be able to buy in 1930 eleven acres of land adjacent to the Golden Hill field, thus almost doubling its area; it was the last available piece of suitable land in a suburban area where house building made much progress in these years. A larger playing-field involved more changing-rooms, and so in 1934-5 a second pavilion was built at a cost of £4500. Its attractive maple flooring was the gift of Melville Wills. The building as a whole, severe in its style, neat in its proportions and admirably efficient for its purpose, is an excellent piece of design; certainly in its modest way an appropriate architectural legacy of a headmaster who preached the gospel that beauty is utility.<sup>360</sup>

Architectural progress in these years was not limited to the erection of new buildings. There were numerous minor improvements in the main block, and one major achievement—the creation of the modern School Library. The books of Catcott's day had long vanished, presumably during the barren years of the early nineteenth century; some would have been of

priceless value had they survived into the twentieth. The revived School seems to have managed without anything that could properly be called a library until 1883, when the Caldicott Library was established as a memorial. This remained small and predominantly classical, and had no independent habitation. After 1906 Dr. Norwood encouraged its extension both in number and in range of books; and there also arose separate Science, French, and Middle School libraries. In 1917 the O.B. notes in the *Chronicle* contained an appeal for books for all four libraries; and in the following year came an important step towards the establishment of a school library worthy of the name—a measure of reorganization and the printing of a catalogue of some 2000 books. This General Library—so-called to distinguish it from the Caldicott Library, which retained its own identity—prospered greatly during the next ten years, growing in books and becoming an integral part of the life of the School. But it still lacked an appropriate and dignified home: housed in a classroom, it could neither give full practical value to its daily users nor become the cultural centre of a great school.<sup>361</sup>

The need was urgent, and it was met in 1928-9. Structural alterations on the ground floor of the Fenwick Richards Wing provided a large and well-lighted room 50 feet long and 30 feet wide; this was re-decorated, re-floored with parquet blocks, and handsomely equipped with all necessary library fittings—book-cases, tables, chairs, window-seats, reference shelves, store-room and librarian's counter—in natural oak. Formally opened in December, 1929, it became at once one of the outstanding school libraries of Great Britain, and it was fitting that the Carnegie Committee's Report of 1936 on *Libraries in Secondary Schools* should carry its photograph as frontispiece. Most of the credit for its creation and for its great contribution to the life of the school community must go to Mr. F. C. Perry, Senior English Master and Librarian since 1927. Under his wise and kindly guidance the open-access system enormously increased the number of books borrowed; the adaptation to school needs of modern library methods of cataloguing and classification and the practice of opening the library at all possible times, added much to its success. The Caldicott Library was for administrative purposes merged with the new Library in 1929, although the

classical section of its books remained under a separate roof. The new building provided shelf-space for some 7500 books; in 1929 this gave ample room for expansion, but the purchases and generous gifts of twenty-one years were to alter the situation, and by 1950 the Library contained over 9000 books (including about 1000 books in the Caldicott Library), and the problem of housing them had become acute.<sup>362</sup>

These years of swift technical advance necessitated many smaller pieces of modernization. Some were long overdue; the Headmaster's house, for example, had no electric light until 1927, and the first motor equipment for the playing-fields did not arrive until 1929.<sup>363</sup> \* The Library was itself only the major part of an extensive reorganization whose aim was to make the School at once more habitable and better equipped in an age of changing educational emphases. Other features included the construction of a Science Lecture Theatre and of a small Biological Laboratory, the conversion of a classroom into a new Staff Common-Room, and the provision of a new Headmaster's Room with a secretarial office adjacent to it.<sup>364</sup> Four years later the organ, which had for many years needed a thorough overhaul, was renovated and equipped with an electric motor. Finally, in 1937, the Governors provisionally accepted a proposal to build a new science block of three storeys on the end of the Winterstoke Wing.<sup>365</sup> This scheme was temporarily shelved because it would have run the School into debt: world events were soon to shatter all hope of its early fulfilment.

These improvements were relatively modest in scale. There were those who saw in some of them signs of changes not wholly in keeping with the School's academic traditions.† Such critics may have found a morsel of consolation in an interesting historical discovery of these years. The monumental brass of Nicholas Thorne, given to the School when St. Werburgh's Church was demolished in 1876, had been built into the wall of the transept of the Great Hall behind the Headmaster's dais.

\* The arrival of this last item led to the final pensioning-off of the School's horse; his stabling, his food and even his shoes had from time to time provided busy Governors with an unusual topic of discussion.

† In this context a famous remark by T. R. Glover is worth recording. When Mr. Barton was showing him the laboratories Glover said, "Do you mean to say that *all* the boys now use all these bottles and tubes?" Being assured that it was so he replied, "Barton, it is simply depraving."

The erection of the War Memorial Screen in 1922 would have completely hidden the brass; so it was taken down and cleaned and repaired in preparation for replacement elsewhere. The renovation revealed that two painted armorial shields, almost obliterated by age, were really thin coats of plaster covering two original metal shields of great beauty. These consisted of brass with pewter inlaid, a feature almost unique in work of the kind, and they retained their original treatment of black and red wax. They were the shields of Nicholas Thorne and his second wife; a third shield, no doubt that of his first wife, had long been missing from its matrix. The entire brass, placed in 1925 by the main doors of the Great Hall, is a fine piece of craftsmanship, with black lettering of sound quality despite the relative lateness of its manufacture; a neat example of a peculiarly English art, it remains a visible link between the Tyndalls Park School and the Tudor foundation.<sup>366</sup>

Within the buildings and on the playing-fields the daily life of the School continued—full, brisk, and purposeful. It was no unchanging life; it could not be, in these years when, to name only the most obvious and least subtle social influences, wireless, cinema and motor-car became commonplace things, claiming their daily or weekly share of boys' time and interest. When the School held its first Exhibition in 1921 it proudly showed "a set of wireless specially installed for the occasion"; ten years later the report in the *Chronicle* of the second Exhibition makes no mention of this vanished marvel; instead, liquid air, the properties of electrons, spectroscopy and "interesting models of aeroplanes" hold the field.<sup>367</sup> Contemporary change permeated every school activity. In the classroom, for example, university and commercial requirements came to compel an earlier specialization and brought about a tighter packing of syllabuses; the range of "subjects" remained (with the addition of Biology) much what it had been since 1906, but their content, notably in the sciences, grew appreciably and formidably. The records of the Debating Society provide a typical commentary upon the rise, decline, and fall of the League of Nations and upon the splendid idealism which it attracted and disappointed. School magazines can scarcely fail to mix dutiful seriousness and

flippancy; yet the peculiar blend in the *Chronicles* of this time is somehow characteristic of the “years between the wars.” It was the golden age of cleverly meaningless editorials and of that unique literary form, the university letter.

In such diverse ways did the School reflect the times. Certainly no Grammar School boy of these years could complain that he was offered nothing beyond the daily time-table of lessons; and one wonders what Robert Leighton, living on in British Columbia until his death in 1928, made of the manifold doings recorded in the *Chronicles*, if he ever saw them. Established societies and organizations—Literary and Debating, Scientific, Cercle Français, Scouts (and Cubs)—continued to flourish; new ones, like a Geographical Society and, at last, an effective Musical Society, came into being. The one important fatality among the societies in these years was the Junior Social Club, which was extinguished in 1926; and this occurred only because those in authority felt that “with the multiplication of specialized School societies and the amazing development of every kind of external entertainment” there was no longer the same need for such a club.<sup>368</sup> As with the societies, so with the games; they prospered not least in the houses. In the teams at the top there was inevitable fluctuation of standard from year to year, but the School produced its occasional international (R. C. W. Pickles and B. S. Chantrill at rugger, J. E. Gregory and F. G. Rogers at hockey), and its fair number of county players. The major festivals of the School’s year, like the Concert, the Athletic Sports and Prize Day—this last far less rowdy than in Victorian days but still not wholly a passive function on the part of the boys—revealed to parents and pressmen a strong and healthy community.

Yet if one had to select a single activity which best symbolized the attitude of the School, it would be difficult not to choose the innumerable visits which parties of boys paid to places and events outside Bristol. For the School, learning from its Headmaster, was outward-looking in these days; and it was appropriate that the most notable of the visits were those paid under Mr. Barton’s guidance to representative exhibitions of works of art (like the remarkable Chinese Exhibition of 1936) and to the great London galleries. Other visits ranged wide. There were

the somewhat haphazard parties to Paris under the management of Monsieur Guerra, and the scientific excursions to coal-mines and match-factories. There were the massive expeditions to the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924, amply prepared for in the classrooms beforehand and superbly organized;<sup>369</sup> and the more tranquil pilgrimages to Stratford and other literary shrines.

Such activities stimulated scholarship; and in scholarship the School adequately upheld the tradition which stretched unbroken from Caldicott's day. By this time its reputation at the older universities stood remarkably high; in 1927 there were among its old boys two heads of houses and six fellows of colleges at Oxford, and the Vice-Chancellor, the Public Orator and three fellows at Cambridge. The youngest addition to the list was a newly-elected fellow of Queen's, Oxford—Oliver S. Franks, the most distinguished of the numerous scholars and exhibitioners of these years. The University of Bristol, too, was attracting an increasing number of able boys from the School, particularly to its medical school, and it was not inappropriate that in 1935 C. B. Perry, O.B., was elected to the chair of Medicine and in 1938 a second, T. F. Hewer, to that of Pathology. Other universities—London, Sheffield, and Aberdeen among them—appointed Bristolians to their staffs. Such distinctions both nourished and reflected a high standard of sixth-form work; and this in its turn, implying intellectual effort and achievement, had meaning even for the average boy who would never attain it. A vicarious pride in academic successes was an important factor in spreading respect for things of the mind.

Perhaps the greatest of all the achievements of the Norwood era had been the re-awakening of the spirit of service to the School community; and the annals of the 'twenties and 'thirties contain many tributes to those who in varying capacities had given abundantly to its members. Among these were outstanding Governors, like Philip J. Worsley, who as Chairman from 1904 to 1912 was a powerful agent in the School's recovery; Fenwick Richards, Chairman from 1913 to 1921 as well as munificent benefactor; and Herbert E. Chattock, Chairman from 1921 to 1934, during whose thirty-four years as a Governor

the School's numbers rose from 180 to over 800. Such men, well-to-do citizens of Bristol,\* were the heirs of the traditions of the Thornes and of the numerous Bristol merchants who had in previous centuries given of their time and their wisdom to the management of the city's grammar school. They were also notable exemplars of that sense of public duty which has been so important a factor in English social history.

Governors, however great their devotion, remain remote from the daily life of schoolboys. Porters, by contrast, have a unique place and an intimate glory; there can be few occupations in which it is so easy to become a legend in one's own lifetime. The School had already been fortunate in one porter, W. J. Dando, who had served it loyally for thirty-five years until his retirement in 1908; and his successor, Colour-Sergeant J. G. Savage, gave it an equal devotion for an equal term, from his appointment as instructor to the Cadet Corps in 1902 to his retirement as Head Porter at the age of 72 in 1937. He was a rare and remarkable character; Sir Cyril Norwood has told us that he appointed Savage as porter in 1908 when he found that he had continued to take the drill of the Corps despite the fact that he had been unpaid for eighteen months.<sup>370</sup> A natural disciplinarian humanized by experience, he won the affection and gratitude of generations of boys and masters by his efficiency and courtesy, his friendliness and his long and unsparing devotion to the School.†

Most notably of all, it was the assistant masters who demonstrated the School's power of evoking loyal service. Those who retired between 1918 and 1938 included, of course, the great majority of the men who had taken part in the School's renaissance. Among them, to mention only a few, were F. ("Billy") Beames, Science Master from 1892 to 1924 and one of the first housemasters; C. W. Stear, for fifty years the leading figure in the musical life of the School; G. J. B. Westcott, a fine mathematician and a great teacher, twenty-seven years Senior Mathematical Master and six years Second Master; E. B. Dicker, German scholar, Housemaster, dry humorist, and later staff

\* It is of some interest that at least two of these three were not natives of the city.

† It is an interesting and somehow solemn fact that, as the fine tribute to him in the *Chronicle* of July, 1937, put it, about 5000 boys, 111 assistant masters, and three Headmasters "passed through his hands."

representative on the Governing body;\* H. W. Gough, wise and kindly father of the Preparatory School; and F. G. Beauchamp, O.B., for twenty-seven years a fine teacher on the literary side and for seventeen years master-in-charge of the School Boarding House. With them may be linked two others whose retirement followed hard upon that of Mr. Barton—F. B. Holmes, fives player, hockey umpire, and twenty years Games Master, and L. V. Caudwell, cricketer and charmingly individualistic teacher of the classics. There were many others, of varied gifts and accomplishments. Such men were personalities, readily and permanently vivid in the minds of those whom they had taught. Their total contribution to the School's development was immense.<sup>371</sup>

Old Boys' activities in the city of Bristol, inevitably curtailed in the years of war, expanded appreciably after 1918. They included a revival of the cricket and rugby football teams, the foundation of a hockey team, an expansion of the activities of the Robert Thorne Masonic Lodge (founded in 1913) and the establishment in 1928 of an Old Boys' Club with premises at 14 Frederick Place, Clifton.<sup>372†</sup> Such corporate affairs were a natural development from a School that had so lately and so sharply grown both in numbers and in pride. Increasing numbers of O.B.s were prominent as individuals in countless societies and organizations in the city. Moreover, the O.B.'s section in the *Chronicle* grew wider and recorded more fully the contemporary pursuits of Old Boys—not only of such variously eminent men as the archaeologist, E. J. H. Mackay, Allen Lane, the founder of "Penguins," and two scholars, W. Ivor Jennings and K. J. Maidment, who later became heads of Commonwealth universities, but also those of great numbers of others less distinguished.

Time provided its appropriate occasion for an expression at once of the School's sense of its tradition and of its present

\* There is an example of Dicker's repartee which is too good to omit. A stout man, bearded and of notably un-military aspect, he was guarding a factory in the First World War. A woman, passing by, looked him up and down, and said contemptuously: "My Gawd." Dicker replied courteously, "No, madam, you're wrong. Your humble servant."

† The premises were sold (1941) in the Second World War, and the money later (1949) given to the Memorial Fund.

health. This was the celebration in 1932 of the four-hundredth anniversary of the grant of its Charter.<sup>373</sup> Mr. Barton has described it as the great event of his time. Proceedings on Charter Day itself, 17th March, began with a commemoration service in the Great Hall, and in the afternoon the President of the Board of Education (Sir Donald Maclean) and Dr. Cyril Norwood addressed a great meeting of parents and friends of the School. The Headmaster prepared a handsome brochure as a souvenir of the occasion, and newspapers, national as well as local, paid notable tributes to the work of the School. For Old Boys, however, the most lively and memorable event was the Commemoration Dinner in the Great Hall on the evening of 16th March—"the first occasion," as Mr. Barton put it, "on which the Hall had given countenance to major junketing, as distinct from intellectual nutriment." Over 400, the vast majority of them Old Bristolians—a few with memories of Unity Street, one at least going back as far as Caldicott's first term—sat down to dine. The special anniversary number of the *Chronicle* recorded the impressions of several of them. A prefect who was present told of the main corridor "filled to overflowing with men in dress suits," of classrooms transformed into a cocktail bar, of the hundreds of vases of daffodils and the multitudes of candles, of the illusion that the Great Hall was "a banqueting hall that had been used in the past as a school hall," of the provision of wine at the School's expense to himself and to the other prefect who accompanied him ("only once in four hundred years does such a thing as this occur"), and, over all, of the greatness of such a gathering emphasizing "the eternal continuity of a big school"—"a giant dwarfing all similar experiences and occasions to banal formalities."

Two of those present could give their impressions with special authority. "Billy" Beames, lately Second Master, who had joined the staff in 1892 and who had therefore experienced decline as well as renaissance, spoke of the building "twice its original size and splendour" and of "the spirit of enthusiasm which was absent forty years ago." Dr. Norwood himself, President of the Old Bristolians' Society in this year, reflected that "never in its history of four centuries had the School been on surer foundations, more prosperous, or more full of promise for the future." "Thronged with numbers, fully equipped and

well-led, it was in a position to give a model of value to the whole educational service of our country." The historian may add his own contrast—between the full and many-sided life and high standards of Tyndalls Park in 1932, and the silent, deserted rooms and the barren régime of Goodenough at Unity Street exactly one hundred years before.

In 1938 Mr. Barton retired. Under his care the School's numbers rose from rather more than 500 to about 800. He had amply maintained its national reputation: he had strengthened its local roots: and he had brought to the lives of its members his own particular gifts—the inspired communication of artistic standards and the warmth of his friendship. These were achievements and qualities which generations of Old Boys would remember. Nor would they forget the personal kindness, the gracious hospitality, and (as the *Chronicle* put it) "the radio-active energy" of Mrs. Barton.<sup>374</sup>

The new Headmaster was Mr. Ralph Westwood Moore. A product of Wolverhampton Grammar School, he was, like his two predecessors at Bristol, a distinguished Oxford classical scholar who had taken "firsts" both in Classical Moderations and in Literae Humaniores. He had taught at Rossall and was Sixth Form Master at Shrewsbury when he was appointed to Bristol. As a cricketer, he had played regularly for the Gentlemen of Shropshire. Mr. Barton, in a note of welcome in the *Chronicle*, spoke of his appointment as being "regarded as fortunate by leading members of the educational profession who are acquainted both with this School and with Mr. Moore's personality and record," and referred to his combination of "youthful vigour and enthusiasm with solid experience and wide human interest."<sup>375</sup> It seemed clear that the School could look forward with confidence.

But the year was 1938. The design of Adolf Hitler for European conquest was unfolding. In the spring German armies had entered Austria; in the summer they were massing on the Sudeten borderland of Czechoslovakia; and in the autumn came the Munich Pact. Mr. Moore took office in Bristol to the accompaniment of this terrible prelude. In October, 1938, the Governors' minutes made their first reference to air-raid precautions, recording the preparation of circular letters to

parents, the purchase of sand, buckets and scoops, and the clearing of all rubbish from the cellars. Although this emergency passed, the shadow of approaching war was visible throughout the new Headmaster's first year; and the reality of war dominated the remainder of his time at Bristol, bringing to the School and its members not only innumerable complexities in its day-to-day working, but also immediate peril and damage. The fates were unkind at a time when there was good prospect of new progress in the School's affairs.

Nevertheless, important beginnings were made during the one year of peace that remained. Mr. Moore himself described them in an article in the *Chronicle* of July, 1948.

Despite the omens we had been looking ahead. The Governors had exchanged drab apartments on the Tramways Centre for a classic mansion in Orchard Street; we had changed the orange-ringed cap for a more sober affair; we had decided to put the School into grey flannel (and been growled at for totalitarians by an Old Bristolian in one of the evening papers) and had substituted a new School rugger jersey for the old House jerseys; we began to consider plans for an extension of the Winterstoke Wing; we had laid down net wickets for dinner-hour cricket on the Tyndalls Park field.

The appointment of a group of young masters of much athletic ability augured well for the future of the School games. The winning of ten open awards at Oxford demonstrated that the traditional standard of scholarship was to be maintained. A School Orchestra and Choir were formed; so was a Caving Club. The School Printers produced the first copy of a library review, *The Carrell*. One evening in July, 1939, the School was At Home to parents, and some two thousand visitors inspected by carefully regulated itinerary all manner of activity all over the School site. Numbers rose to a record level of 830. All in all, it was a good year, even by the high standards set since 1906.\*

\* The ending of one established feature of the School must be mentioned here. In July, 1939, the Boarding House was closed. The one survivor of those late Victorian days when numerous masters took a few boarders, it had been run for seventeen years (1911-28) by F. G. Beauchamp and for eleven (1929-39) by R. J. McGregor, and it had contributed much both to the general life of the School and to the individual happiness of many boys.

Then came the Second World War. At its declaration, the summer holidays of 1939 had a fortnight still to run; and volunteers from boys and staff toiled at digging trenches, marked out by Savage's successor, Sergeant Middlecote, round the Tyndalls Park field. With expert aid they revetted and roofed over some of these; the main School cellar had been earlier strengthened and partitioned, and the University and the City Museum had provided further cellar accommodation. Thus equipped against air raids, the School began the year 1939-40 only two days late. Six additional underground concrete shelters were built during the year. It was not until after the capitulation of France during the summer of 1940 that the war began seriously to interrupt school life. Then broken nights made it advisable to begin the day at ten o'clock instead of nine, and to curtail the number of boys playing games at Golden Hill. First-aid classes were held: the School contributed a platoon to the Local Defence Volunteers. Eighty of the O.T.C.'s rifles were sent, for some oblique reason, to the Warwickshire Police, and the School's German howitzer was turned to scrap metal. Eleven members of the staff joined the armed forces before the end of the summer term of 1940. The *Chronicle* of December, 1939, recorded the first O.B. casualty, and the next issue contained the first list of O.B.'s in the forces. A fair number of boys left the School and Bristol through private evacuation, but this loss was offset by new entrants whose parents had come to the city as official migrants.<sup>376</sup>

It was a hectic but scarcely a perilous year, this first one of the war. The second brought sterner trials. On the night of Sunday, 24th November, 1940, Bristol had its first big raid, and many incendiary bombs fell on Tyndalls Park. Mr. Moore has described what followed.

We put out many incendiaries, but one lodged in the rafters of the Prep. proved intractable; when the fire-engines came the water mains had failed; and the building burned steadily to a shell. That night, as on other nights, the School site was ringed by fires, in the University and in the adjacent roads. The wind was in the west, and all night burning tinder from a house in Elton Road fell on our house. We evacuated it and

stood by; but wonderfully it did not catch fire. A small stick of bombs fell on the blazing Prep. but they were of small calibre and did little harm. In the early hours Sergeant and I put our heads together and decided that we would carry on school next morning if possible. It did prove possible; we had salvaged a fair amount of equipment from the Prep. and somehow we fitted in its forms in the big School.

There were six large fires in the neighbourhood that night; and the glare from blazing buildings reflected in the windows of the Great Hall added the illusion that that too was aflame. This was the worst raid; three more—on 2nd December, 1940, when part of the Preparatory Hall roof, hitherto little harmed, was burned off, and on 3rd January and 11th April, 1941—brought relatively minor damage to the School premises. The Main School stood unhurt: but the latest of the Tyndalls Park buildings, Fenwick Richards' Preparatory School, was, its hall apart, a blackened shell.

The Preparatory Department was housed in drawing-room and dining-room of the Headmaster's House, and in accommodation provided by Western College. Its numbers fell; the School's total declined by almost 100 during the year 1940-41, and nearly all those who left were younger boys whose parents thought it best to remove them from so heavily bombed a city. This fall added to the financial worries of a governing body which, at a time of steeply-rising costs, had to face additional expenditure on the rent of extra premises and on air-raid precautions; and which had lost much income from its trust funds, through the heavy damage caused by enemy action to the Redcliffe Street property of Dr. Owen's Charity. Parents inquired whether the School was to be evacuated from Bristol; the Governors took a unanimous decision against this course. Events justified them. As 1941 wore on air-raids grew less frequent and less intense; there were other British targets, the summer nights were shorter, and after the German attack on Russia in July the major fury of war moved to the east. The worst of the war was in fact over, for the School as for the nation as a whole. But 1940-1 had been a profoundly difficult year.

And yet the Headmaster could justly maintain that the year's



PLATE XI. THE LIBRARY – opened in October 1973



*Photograph by Mike Martin*

PLATE XII. JOHN GARRETT, ESQ.

Headmaster, 1943-60.

*From the portrait by John Whitlock Codner, R.W.A.*

course had been "accomplished with a completeness that has fallen little short of normality." It was not merely that despite disturbed rest and the claims of Civil Defence, Fire-watching, the Home Guard, messenger duties, family shopping, and household chores upon boys, the customary routine of school life in classroom and on playing-fields continued to effective purpose. There were interesting extensions of activity in these most difficult of the war years. Some of these, like the lumber camps in the Forest of Dean and the harvest camps, the National Savings group, and the formation of an Air Training Corps directly reflected the national emergency. Others, more or less stimulated by contemporary conditions, included Chess and Badminton clubs, Fencing classes, the construction of a biological pond ("an impressive work in concrete"), and the re-formation of the Thorne Society as a discussion group on the initiative of sixth-form boys. Music flourished, with appetites whetted and numerous recitals provided by the wartime expansion of B.B.C. activities in Bristol. Even the *Chronicle* came out with a new design on its jacket. One event of December, 1940, deserves special notice—the inspection by H.M. the King on Tyndalls Park field of a parade representative of all Civil Defence units in Bristol, watched by members of the School from the terrace.<sup>377</sup>

The third wartime year, 1941-2, saw an appreciable return towards normal conditions. Bristol was relatively free from aerial attack; the teaching staff was virtually stabilized; transport had become less difficult. Numbers rose steadily again, and reached 757 during the summer term of 1942. External demands on boys' time continued, but the tension of their lives was less. It became possible to attempt constructive innovation, like the provision of a special one-year sixth-form course, the introduction of singing periods in the time-table of junior forms, and the transfer of the Athletic Sports from March to May; and to consider the possibility of an adequate canteen to serve midday meals, a project that presaged an important later development. Prize Day was held at the end of the summer term, 1942, and was preceded, at the Headmaster's suggestion, by a special School service in Bristol Cathedral.

Before this date the School had learned that it was to lose

Mr. Moore. "A bomb (*altus explosivus*) fell this term on the School House, and is timed by delayed action to hoist the occupant nearly as far as London. Transport for Bristol headmasters going to the periodical relief of Harrow has thus been speeded up since the last war, when the journey had to be made overland via Marlborough." So began a farewell note by the Second Master, the Rev. S. T. Collins, in the *Chronicle* of July, 1942. Mr. Moore had accepted an invitation to become Headmaster of Harrow. The thirty-fourth Headmaster of the Grammar School, he was the second to leave it in the twentieth century to take up another educational appointment. His stay had been brief, and inevitably the war had prevented the School from responding as he would have wished to the hopes of his first year. Yet his three wartime years had been long ones, years for him of peril and physical strain and abnormal responsibility; and it was his achievement to have met and overcome difficulties of a kind which no other Headmaster in the whole history of the School had had to face or even to contemplate.

During the term which followed Mr. Moore's departure the School had as its temporary Headmaster Mr. R. B. Henderson, an O.B. of Leighton's time who until his retirement in 1940 had been for twenty years Headmaster of Alleyn's School. For the permanent appointment the Governors selected Mr. John W. P. Garrett. It was in some ways an unorthodox choice. Mr. Garrett was the first Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School who was not a classical scholar. He had read Modern History at Exeter College, Oxford; thereafter he had as an assistant master taught History and English, until his appointment by the Surrey County Council in 1935 as the first Headmaster of Raynes Park County School. Under his rule Raynes Park had won a national reputation for its liberal and balanced curriculum, for the vitality of its activities and for the high standards at which it aimed from its very birth. Nevertheless the appointment of a man who came neither from another ancient city grammar school nor from one of the public schools but from the service of a local education authority was a further break with tradition. Moreover, Mr. Garrett, like Mr. Barton, had his obsession: where his predecessor had preached art-appreciation, Mr. Garrett's

gospel was Shakespeare. The School had no dramatic tradition, and it was at least an open question whether the attempt to create one would be welcome; there were those who held that "play-acting" was no proper function of the academic grammar school. He enjoyed one other unorthodoxy; whereas all his recent predecessors had been married men, he was a bachelor.

The war was far from over when he took office at the beginning of the spring term of 1943. Many of the permanent staff were still absent on war service. Building expansion was out of the question for an indefinite period. Transport restrictions and labour shortage handicapped many of the School's activities, notably the games. The additional responsibilities which wartime had thrust upon many boys, particularly the older ones, continued. In such circumstances it was not easy to maintain the corporate life of the community at full and continuous vigour. This fact had found expression in the *Chronicle* editorials during 1942. There had been complaints that "boys are only too ready to take everything given them and give very little in return" and that "there has been too much apathy and slackness in the School of late." The direct physical perils of war had, for the School, virtually ended. But reaction and prolonged strain were taking effect. Here was one source of challenge to an incoming Headmaster.

There was another, external to the School, in the educational ferment of the war years. A new Education Act, whose content was not yet certain but whose importance nobody doubted, was in the making; meanwhile the entire structure of English education was under fierce review. The Fleming Committee was investigating the relation of the public schools to the national education system, the McNair Committee was considering the supply and training of teachers; a third committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Norwood, would issue in this year, 1943, its report on curriculum and examinations in secondary schools. Innumerable unofficial bodies were giving to the world their views upon educational reform. It was clear that changes were at hand and that, whether they were put into operation at once or as part of a broad plan of post-war reconstruction, they would greatly affect the traditional grammar schools. An extension of State control; a rising level of educational costs; the development of new types of non-academic secondary

school; the modification of external examinations—all these things were in prospect. There were deeper questions, too, raised by a swiftly-changing social environment. What were the purposes of grammar schools in an age of egalitarianism? Had their traditional disciplines and techniques adequate social relevance? Were their standards still valid? Such questions had to be answered, not by articles in educational journals, but in the daily work of the schools.

To this double challenge, from within and from without the School, Mr. Garrett's response was firm, bold, and prompt. He believed that the School needed a beckoning forward now that the worst crises of the war were over; and he made this evident in an address which he gave to some seven hundred parents in the Great Hall in March, 1943.<sup>378</sup> Calling for partnership, not conflict, between home and school, he observed that "the school community consists of a triumvirate of power—boys, parents, and staff—and if any member is not giving of his best, 'the state totters' as certainly as did Caliban's island kingdom." He went on to confess "an old-fashioned belief in discipline and good manners," and yet to proclaim his faith in a widening of the School's activities. "I do want to multiply here the number of what Jane Austen called 'holds upon happiness' which a boy can discover. I want to make experiments with painting some of our dark classrooms; a grand start has been made in the grounds by a group of geologizing gardeners; I want to get good Shakespearean productions started as soon as possible; music and orchestra and choir need development; given a new press we can expand our printing; eventually I want pottery and sculpture. All these—and when the war is over there are many more—are ways of enlisting boys' interest in and love for their School." Finally he urged the advantages of a two-year course in the Sixth Form. "In the Sixth a boy begins to be acquainted with learning itself. There he comes to assume those positions of authority and partnership in running the school which are invaluable in moulding his character. It is there that the school sinks its roots in him and that he learns to love it."

This address presaged changes of technique and approach—yet changes whose emphatic aim was to preserve the traditional

standards of the School. The first years of the new régime brought a number of these. Among them were staff conferences with parents of boys at every level in the main school; a re-organization of the one-year Sixth Form into a new "Economics Sixth"; the inclusion of music in the work of all the Sixth Forms, and of the social aspect of science in that of the Classical and Modern Sixths; a greater stress on the function of form-masters, especially in the most junior forms; and an attempt to ensure better teaching for the less academic type of boy. The winter term of 1943 saw the inauguration of "Friday afternoon activities," giving boys an opportunity—partly within the time-table, partly outside it—to extend the range of their interests: they included art, woodwork, and aeronautical clubs, play-readings, study circles on stamps, current affairs, and local studies, music, and gardening.\* The Headmaster's Fund was started: created by regular contributions from all boys in the School, it was to make possible the purchase of objects of worth and value to the entire community, such as the new pictures added at this time to the collection created by Mr. Barton. The appearance of the School grounds began to undergo transformation, with the planting of bulbs in the paddock and of a row of trees along the southern edge of Tyndalls Park.

Yet to the world outside the School the most notable single innovation of this time was probably the School Play. The last full-length play produced at the School had been in 1914; the First World War had prevented what might have become an annual event, and since then there had only been occasional one-act plays. The year 1943 was a peculiarly appropriate one in which to re-create School drama, for it saw the reopening of the oldest English theatre, Bristol's Theatre Royal. Thus the School's production of *Julius Caesar* in that year was in some measure a contribution to the reinvigoration of drama in the city. It was a venture of faith, and there were critics who feared lest the School might be "turned into a hippodrome." But performances of plays earlier in the year by boys in the Third Forms and in the Preparatory School were an encouraging

\* The range was wide: but there were limits. In 1944 some boys wanted to form a Pony Club. The Governors minuted that "theoretical instruction in the care and riding of horses might be given on Friday afternoons, at the discretion of the Headmaster," but they would not permit riding.<sup>379</sup>

foretaste, and *Julius Caesar*, when it came in December, was a great success, both in the standard of performance and in the response it evoked from the School and city. A year later came *Hamlet*, to which W. J. Turner paid high tribute in *The Spectator*.\* A triumphant tradition had begun, and it was to be richly maintained in the years that followed, aided by the nursery of actors provided by the annual plays in the junior forms and (from 1945 onwards) by the inter-house play competition.<sup>380</sup>

The play was not simply an achievement in itself: it symbolized a widening of horizons for the School, and especially for boys in the Sixth Forms. Numbers in the Sixths rose steeply; there were 80 at the beginning of 1943, 116 that September, and 142 twelve months later. In rather under two years the proportion of boys in the Sixths had risen from 10 per cent to 15 per cent of the total number, a remarkable increase. It reflected a trend of the times towards a wider appreciation of the value of advanced work at schools as well as of the university courses to which such work opened the way. This larger Sixth Form represented a doctrine in which Mr. Garrett proclaimed a passionate faith. Its activities were extended under the new régime, notably by a great development of the practice of bringing to the School as lecturers men distinguished in many fields—scholars and politicians, playwrights and poets, critics and divines.<sup>381</sup> Few groups of boys in the land, certainly those of no other provincial school, can have enjoyed so much first-class ability at first hand as Bristol Grammar School's Sixth Forms in the years after 1943. This regular meeting with minds of excellence did much to multiply the points of contact between older boys and the highest standards of achievement in adult society.

Those who benefited from this policy of lectures were not merely the ablest members of the Sixths: yet these certainly lost nothing by it. In 1943 the Norwood Report spoke of competitive open scholarships at the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge as the “blue ribbon” of achievement for the best products of the grammar schools.<sup>382</sup> The School had in the past won a national reputation for itself by its successes in this field, and this

\* “Fresh from the experience of seeing Mr. Gielgud's coldly accomplished *Hamlet* at the Haymarket, I have to record the sober but somewhat startling fact that the Bristol Grammar School's production of *Hamlet* was, as a whole, one of the most moving I have ever seen . . . As a school production, it is an educational landmark.”

was adequately maintained during the years 1943 and 1944 by the winning of fourteen open awards. It was an anticipatory response to the challenge thrown out by Sir Cyril Norwood when in September, 1944, he visited the School as President of St. John's, that Oxford College which since 1566 had drawn Sir Thomas White scholars from Bristol. Speaking of the problems created for the schools of old foundation in an era of educational change, he told the boys that the School could not live upon what it had done in the past. It must fight for the highest standard of scholarship, of citizenship and life. "You have to show what it is to be the leading day school in a great city."<sup>383</sup>

The war went on, exacting its contribution from Bristol as from other grammar schools: some 1200 O.B.s were in the armed forces, 140 of whom were never to return from their service. It continued to impose its effect on the life of the School, but 1944 brought increasing signs of return to normality. The concert was revived, its level now fixed by sonata and symphony; so was the cross-country run. There was a record number of boys, 910, and a record number of entrance candidates. Yet another record was broken by the annual collection on behalf of the Children's Hospital, bringing the total subscribed by the School since "the Cot" was initiated in 1911 to over £10,000.\* The Old Boys presented to the School, to be hung in the Great Hall, portraits of Sir Cyril Norwood (who in this same year became a Governor) and Mr. J. E. Barton. The most notable event of all occurred in the summer—a visit on 24th May by Her Majesty Queen Mary. It was a unique occasion, for never before had royalty made a tour of inspection of the School. Nearly 400 years earlier Queen Elizabeth on progress to the city had listened with some impatience to the loyal verses of Grammar School boys: now in 1944 there were no verses, but an equal loyalty saluted a more patient Queen whose more varied programme included visits to the Art Room, the Library, the Chemistry Laboratory, and many classrooms.<sup>384</sup>

It was well that the School was in good heart. For a

\* When this collection was finally discontinued in 1947 the grand total had risen to £12,952.

turning-point in its history was at hand. The era of post-war reconstruction was beginning. The Butler Act of 1944 created a new pattern for English education, and no single piece of legislation since the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 was so significant for the School. It raised in distinct terms an issue which had been impending since the beginning of the twentieth century—the issue of the precise relationship between the School and the national system of education. It compelled the Governors to take a major decision about the future status of the School, and it set them serious and immediate problems of finance and administration. Its long-term effects were bound to be great, in the composition of the School, as well as in its contribution to national and to local education.

In the spring of 1943 the Governors had passed a resolution in favour of the maintenance of the "Direct Grant" system.<sup>385</sup> The publication in 1944 of the Fleming Report, advocating the admission of primary school pupils to the public schools, caused them to reiterate this view: but it was not until May, 1945, that, faced with the prospective operation of the Butler Act, they took the decisions vital to the future of the School. They discussed and rejected a proposal that the School should become independent: to adopt such a course would have been to cut too sharply adrift from the national system, and moreover it would have involved an intolerable increase in fees. Instead they decided to apply to the Minister of Education for permission to remain on the list of "Direct Grant" schools. This permission was duly granted. It involved the substitution of a single flat-rate capitation grant from the Treasury for the several distinct grants previously received; and it meant, among other things, that the School would henceforward be responsible for the provision of textbooks and the payment of examination fees. Such changes necessarily implied a more intimate relationship with the new Ministry of Education than the School had hitherto had with the old Board.

Two other features of the new situation created more immediate problems. First, the Act involved an organic separation between the Preparatory Department (henceforward the Lower School) and the Main School. The age of entry to the latter would in future be 11+ for all boys, whereas boys from the "Prep." had hitherto entered at 12. The practical result of this was the

reduction in September, 1945, of the Lower School's numbers by approximately eighty to a maximum of 180, and an equivalent increase in the Main School. Secondly, the proportion of local authority scholars in the Main School rose appreciably. Previously 10 per cent of the School's entrants had been "Free Place" scholars. In future the proportion would be 25 per cent, with an additional 25 per cent of "reserved places" available if the Local Education Authorities of Bristol and the two neighbouring counties of Gloucestershire and Somerset required them. The remaining 50 per cent of the boys would be fee-payers on a graduated scale according to parents' incomes. The number of places open to each of the three authorities would be proportionate to the number of fee-paying pupils from the three areas.\* A minor consequence of the new arrangement was the transformation of the old-established Peloquin Scholarships. They could no longer serve any useful purpose for boys coming to the Main School from outside; so in 1946 they became available—reduced in number because of the increased fees of the 1940s—only to boys in the Lower School.

Nobody could foretell the long-term effects of these major constitutional changes. Some prophesied and bewailed an increasing dependence upon a remote and impersonal central authority in Whitehall. Others held that the loss of freedom was imaginary rather than real, and that it was more than offset by the education of boys of every class in Bristol. Those who were critical of other features of contemporary educational reform—for example, of the attempt to give parity of status to secondary modern schools—saw in the Butler Act and especially in its interpretation after 1945 a diabolical design to weaken those old-established grammar schools of which Bristol was a leading representative. But those who welcomed reform believed that the Act would enable such schools at last to fulfil their ancient purposes and to open the gates of learning to all boys of academic ability whatever their social background. This was a debate in which only a somewhat distant future could give a decisive vote.

\* "Gloucestershire" and "Somerset" meant in effect those Bristol suburbs which lay within the county boundaries. The School's catchment area is virtually Bristol, with the exception of a handful of boys drawn from north-east Somerset between Weston-super-Mare and Bath.

Meanwhile the immediate post-war years could not be easy ones. The School shared the inevitable austerity of building development. Its numbers rose from 925 in the autumn of 1945 to 1037 four years later—a growth which was gratifying evidence of Bristol's confidence in it, but which set serious problems of accommodation. The Preparatory Department had occupied almost the whole of the Headmaster's House since September, 1942: now forms from the Main School spilled over into it. The University of Bristol provided temporary quarters for a short time. The pavilion at Tyndalls Park, wrenched from its proper purpose, became the form-room of the Modern Sixth: and a prefabricated hut containing three classrooms was built along the University Road side of the field, its completion coinciding with the very cold winter of 1947.<sup>386</sup> There was still not enough room, and so the Great Hall came back into use for two or even more classes at the same time, an expedient satisfactory to no one except the ghost of Caldicott. The need of separate rooms for an increasing number of Sixth Forms was a major factor in making the School more cramped in teaching-space than at any time since the 1880s.

Staffing difficulties were equally inevitable, despite the return in 1945–6 of most of the men who had served in the forces. Post-war problems of housing and the greater financial rewards of other careers made good teachers, especially in the science subjects, hard to find. Time brought its heavy losses. One had occurred in 1944, with the departure of the historian C. E. ("Punch") Roberts after twenty-eight years' wise and infectious service: others followed, in the retirement of men like F. S. Pitt and Leslie Morris who had loyally upheld the School's best traditions in the years between the wars. The greatest loss of all came in 1946, when the Rev. S. T. Collins retired. Himself an old boy of the School, a pupil of Robert Leighton and Muschamp, he had been appointed to the staff by Dr. Norwood and had for thirty-two years been Senior Classical Master. Under him the Sixth had been one of the famous Classical Sixths of the country, winning fifty-three open scholarships and thirty-four exhibitions at the older universities, an achievement which the Governors caused to be recorded in their minutes with an expression of their appreciation. At the staff's farewell

to "the Saint" tribute was paid in the phrase, "we have all long recognized him as the one true scholar among us." His erudition and fine critical standards were matched by his range of interests and by his continuing zest for learning; and it was characteristic that he should within eighteen months of retirement be awarded a Leverhulme Research grant.<sup>387</sup>

Less obvious than building and staffing difficulties, but no less real, were those of administration. The swelling numbers of the School, the changes brought by the Butler Act, and the widening of the educational process itself contributed to make the management of a great Grammar School a far more complex and strenuous task than it had been before 1939. The burden was present at every stage. It was most evident in the Governors' minute-books, where both the volume of the minutes and the variety of their subjects rose far beyond pre-war levels. The routine work of the Governors' School Committee ranged from free milk to film-strips, from the award of Peloquin scholarships to the wages of charwomen, from pianos to heating devices: much was formal, much was not new, but all bore witness to the stress of this era in educational administration. In this unpublicized yet vital department of its life, the School lost in 1946 a notable and wise servant by the retirement of Mr. Wilfrid Leighton, who as clerk to the Governors for thirty-one years had worked with three chairmen and four headmasters.<sup>388</sup>

The post-war years brought difficulties. They also brought notable innovations, some memorable events, and the triumphant maintenance under Mr. Garrett's leadership of the best traditions of the School. Certainly they provided little evidence for any belief that the impact of the Education Act of 1944 meant either a restriction of activities or a decline of standards.

Three innovations merit special notice. The first had its beginnings in the late months of 1944, when carpenters set to work on the construction, at the eastern end of the Great Hall, of a canteen with kitchen below. This involved the careful moving of part of the panelling; and also—to provide the necessary space for dining-tables—the final demolition of those relics of Caldicott's day, the original platforms round the masters' stalls. One only was left at the western end as a monument of

educational history.<sup>389</sup> The new canteen opened on 7th March, 1945. Its material value to the School's members may be judged from a single statistic: during the financial year 1947-8 it served nearly 98,000 meals.<sup>390</sup> Its deeper significance lay in the sense of community which it encouraged among that majority of masters and boys who henceforward ate their dinners in the Great Hall. A second change was designed, in part at least, to promote the same end. This was the introduction in 1947 of a school uniform of grey flannel suits, a plan which had been approved in Mr. Moore's time but whose introduction the war had postponed. A third innovation, accelerated by the diminution of paper control in 1946, was a transformation of the size and format of the *Chronicle*, which from the December issue of that year became bigger and more elegant in appearance and layout, and thus a far worthier expression of the life of a great school.

The *Chronicles* record a rich variety of events in this short period. Some were of domestic significance, like those which in different ways contributed to the embellishment of Tyndalls Park and the buildings. Such were the planting of shrubs to break what the Headmaster called "the white but ugly austerity" of the prefabricated hut (1947), and the installation of electric flood-lighting in the Great Hall (1948). Others had a wider context. In 1947, after the long interval of war, a School party again went to Paris, and from that year onwards the December *Chronicles* contained articles describing trips boys had paid to numerous European countries in the summer. There were, too, visits evoked by the two elections and the political tension of this time. Political visitors of all the main parties were not infrequent, and among them at the end of 1944 was Sir Stafford Cripps, at that time Minister of Aircraft Production, who was the first Cabinet Minister to come to the School. In the summer of 1946 the most celebrated of contemporary politicians paid a non-political visit; the Chancellor of the University of Bristol, Mr. Winston Churchill, was received at the School.<sup>391</sup>

Certain events brought special pride to the School. In 1948 one of its most brilliant sons, Sir Oliver Franks, who after a distinguished career in the highest ranks of the war-time civil service had returned to Oxford as Provost of Queen's, was

appointed British Ambassador in the United States.\* A year later the School's Prizegiving was honoured by the presence of Sir Oliver's opposite number in London, Mr. Lewis Douglas, then American Ambassador in Great Britain. Such transatlantic links were distinctions: they also had an appropriateness for the city of Cabot and the school of the Thornes.<sup>392</sup> In 1950 came a solemn occasion of a different kind—the dedication of the memorial to those Old Boys who had died in the Second World War. This took the form of a Book of Remembrance and of new pairs of gates into Elton Road and University Road on the northern side of the main school buildings: it also included a new Old Boys' playing field at Failand on the western outskirts of the city.<sup>393</sup>

In 1943 Mr. Garrett had been welcomed by the Old Boys at a special meeting. The company included Sir Cyril Norwood and Mr. Barton; and before this formidable audience the new Headmaster had quoted St. Paul's words to Timothy and had said that he conceived it his duty to add to what had been committed to his trust. Seven years later the pattern of his achievement was clear. Events time-honoured and new-found—Play and Carol Service and Sports, Whit Monday cricket match at Flax Bourton, competitions for Verse Speaking and Public Speaking prizes, the regular activities of the Combined Cadet Force, the informal meetings of the Thorne Society—revealed a community offering many allegiances. Games came back into their own in 1948-50, with exciting victories by the XV (among them one against Clifton College in an inaugural match) and a revival of cricket coinciding with the appointment of a professional. Most accordant with tradition, the standard of success in scholarship was more than amply maintained despite problems created by the size of sixth forms which by 1950 contained over 190 boys. The five years 1946-51 saw boys of the School win sixty-four open awards at Oxford and Cambridge; the fifteen of 1950-1 constituted a record.

\* He was not merely an Old Boy. An entry in the School's staff register in 1924 records his temporary appointment to teach Classics to 4A at a salary of £4 a week. His teaching career lasted nine days, after which he returned to Oxford, where he was then an undergraduate in his first year.

The stranger who enters the Great Hall of Bristol Grammar School finds it architecturally impressive, in size and in proportions. He is also apt to find it evoking his sense of history and carrying his mind far beyond that mid-Victorian era when Caldicott's building arose. This illusion is not wholly unreal; and recent changes have helped the Hall to span the years. By the entrance door is Nicholas Thorne's memorial brass, replaced after temporary wartime removal. Flanking the Headmaster's dais are copies of the Governors' portraits of Robert and Nicholas Thorne, the gift of Mr. Henley Evans, Chairman since 1934. High above on stone shields is a series of carved and painted coats-of-arms, the work of fine craftsmanship during 1949-50. The royal bearings of the Tudors, the arms of the city of Bristol, and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Bristol, and those of Lord La Warr, the Thorne brothers, Sir Thomas White and others of the School's benefactors bring to the Hall bright colour and a lasting memorial of the length of the School's history.\* The portraits of Headmasters—of Dr. Caldicott, Sir Cyril Norwood, and Mr. Barton—which have in recent years been hung at the ends of the Hall suggest the great achievements of the nearer past.

The sense of history has lately found appropriate expression in the annual School service in the Cathedral, first held at the end of the summer term in 1942, and in 1943 and thereafter on Charter Day itself, 17th March. Such a custom, a corporate act of worship in commemoration of the effective foundation of the School, has served to emphasize as well as to symbolize its unity. It is in special measure a challenge to the School's members, calling upon them to maintain the ancient grammar-school traditions of hard work, accurate scholarship and service to the community. For this is the one yearly occasion which

\* The full list of coats-of-arms is as follows—

1. (from the main entrance facing the dais, to the left) Royal Arms of 1532; Stancomb (benefactress); Fry (benefactor); Kitchen (benefactor); Oxford University.

2. (ditto, to the right) City of Bristol; Winterstoke (benefactor); Sir Thomas White (benefactor); George Owen (benefactor); Fenwick Richards (benefactor).

3. (from the dais facing the entrance, to the left) Nicholas Thorne's Merchant's Mark; Nicholas Thorne's Arms; Dr. Thomas White (benefactor); John Whitson (benefactor), Bristol University.

4. (ditto, to the right) School Arms (Robert Thorne's Arms); Robert Thorne's Merchant's Mark; Thomas West II, son of Thomas West I; Thomas West I, Lord La Warr; Cambridge University.

focuses the School's attention at once upon its past and upon its future.

At the Prizegiving of 1950 the Headmaster was able to announce that the School had obtained the necessary licence to rebuild the ruined Preparatory School for the use of the Main School, and that work on the site would begin as soon as possible. With numbers at over 1000, such rebuilding was urgently necessary to provide classroom and laboratory space. The School had many other building needs—a new gymnasium and shower-baths, a lecture-hall and stage, a swimming-bath among them. In 1950 they remained visionary projects. Nevertheless the reconstruction would be a beginning, and a beginning which the School would welcome with confident anticipation of further developments to come.

The story of the School must break off here. Future prospects are good. It may fairly be claimed that the record of achievement since 1943 makes this plain. There are indeed difficulties and dangers in sight. Great numbers—the School is now one of the largest in the land—bring their perils, of over-organization and of anonymity for the individual boy. Ancient dangers demand perpetual vigilance; the average boy must not be sacrificed to his brilliant fellow, nor the individualist to the conformist, and neither must the School lose touch with contemporary society. High standards will not be maintained without constant struggle. But there is abundant ground for belief that the difficulties will be overcome, the dangers averted. For the School has shown during the twentieth century a notable power to adapt itself to a rapidly-changing world without discarding its values or departing from its central purposes. It continues to evoke affection and devoted service from its members. They work in the light of a noble and a living tradition.

## *Chapter IX*

1950–1986

1950–1960

The year when the first edition of this book ended, 1950, is a convenient point at which to reflect upon the progress and prospects of Bristol Grammar School. The war was over. Economic recovery, aided by the Marshall Plan, was fairly launched, and a 'welfare state' had taken shape in the late 1940's. Education, for once, was at the heart of social pressures and of politics, as the Butler Act of 1944, the most important Education Act for forty years, started to bring about a thorough re-organisation of secondary schooling in England and Wales. Locally, Bristol was replanning and starting to rebuild. In economic terms, the city had done well out of the war, not merely with the boom in cigarette-smoking, but—far more significantly for the future—in the aircraft industry, electronics and light engineering. The area's growing class of skilled workmen was notably interested in a good education for its children. At Tyndall's Park, John Garrett was presiding, very actively, over a lively community of some 1000 boys (it had been 770 in 1943) from every part and (thanks to the Direct Grant system) every class of the city and its neighbourhood, and over a well-qualified, vigorous staff, a vital core to any school. The outlook for Bristol Grammar School in the second half of the twentieth century seemed at least as bright as at any time in the last four hundred years.

The pace set in the later 'forties was amply maintained in the 'fifties. This was clearly true of the more visible achievements. In the annual Shakespeare play, a succession of talented producers from the ranks of the staff offered a splendid variety of interpretation at high standard. Open awards at Oxford and Cambridge reached a peak in the later 'fifties (24 in 1957–8 alone). New buildings arose to cope

with what seemed to be an endlessly-increasing number of pupils, rising to 1125 by the beginning of 1960. One on Elton Road, opened in 1952 for the Main School, grew from the ashes of the Preparatory School destroyed in the air-raids of twelve years before. A second, in University Road, in 1958, mainly a Science Block, owed much to a national fund launched by British industrialists to promote the teaching of science and technology. In the mid-fifties, the School bought two houses in Elton Road: No. 7 to become a Headmaster's House, and No. 9 (Barton's) to be converted into additional teaching accommodation for the Sixth Form, which was growing at a rate faster than the School as a whole, and which by 1960 contained 298 boys, over seven times its total in 1943.

Curriculum and organisation continued for the most part on traditional lines with Classics still holding its particularly esteemed place. Yet this did not imply lower standards of aim or achievement in the other established subjects. In 1951, the School took in its stride both a General Inspection by His Majesty's Inspectors, who wrote a notably laudatory report, and the introduction of the examinations for the General Certificate of Education at Advanced and at Ordinary Level. During this decade the Economics Sixth acquired the place appropriate to it in a great commercial and industrial city, as a form on level terms with the more traditional disciplines both in teaching time and in subject courses to Advanced Level. Science received a considerable fillip with the opening of the new building, although the real fruits of this could not begin to grow until the 'sixties.

As with the curriculum, so with games: the School's provision continued to follow its well-established pattern of compulsory games—rugby football, hockey and cricket. School teams apart, games were organised by House, named after the current master-in-charge. The House system, though in minor key compared with its place in the large boarding school, did much to stimulate both enthusiasm and standards in games. Some housemasters also used it to encourage younger boys to take part in the various clubs and groups arising out of Friday afternoon 'activities'. Other sports were by no means neglected. Athletics and swimming

saw notable growth during the later 'fifties, both in enthusiasm and quality. The swimmers in particular won in 1960 the Royal Life-Saving Society's major trophy for the entire British Isles, an astonishing performance from a school without a swimming bath of its own. Five boys were later capped for rugger, John Currie, Bill Redwood and Colin MacFadyean for England, Bob McEwan for Scotland and John Leleu for Wales. Geoffrey Cutter was to win an international hockey cap for Wales and play for the British Olympic team. At cricket an Old Bristolian of an earlier period, Tom Graveney, played in 79 Test Matches in the 'fifties and 'sixties.

The 'fifties also brought imaginative and fruitful developments in the relations between the School and those two groups (the Old Bristolians and the parents) which are the most natural and potentially the most valuable links between any school and its environment. The Old Bristolians illustrated this both in the opening at Tyndall's Park in 1950 of Memorial Gates in commemoration of old boys killed in the Second World War, and then in the use by the School of the Old Bristolians' Memorial Field at Failand. This field, into which many Old Bristolians invested many hours of hard work by removing countless stones, as well as much hard-earned cash, was first used by boys still at school in 1952. Despite its distance from Tyndall's Park and the difficulties of transport and time-tabling, it was gradually, with improved facilities and more land, to ease the problems of providing games accommodation for the Grammar School during the next years. For by the 'fifties Golden Hill—no longer as conveniently sited for the Bristol of that date as it had been in Norwood's time—was already plainly inadequate as a games field for a school of over 1000 boys. This very practical assistance was an obvious example of the heavy debt the School has owed to the Old Bristolians as individuals or as a group in the second half of the twentieth century.

Parents of pupils still at school (many of them also Old Bristolians) have given the School immense help, both in cash and in practical service. An important element of John Garrett's policy was an increased co-operation with parents,

indicated first in the establishment of annual parents' conferences for each level of forms in the school. Arising indirectly out of these and of the increased involvement in the School which many parents felt, the Friends of Bristol Grammar School was formed in 1956. Its members were parents of pupils currently at the School; its aims were to provide closer links between parents and staff, and to help the School in practical ways. It launched in 1957 its first Midsummer Fair, thenceforward an annual event in aid of the School. The money raised by this and by other Friends' activities and given for the School's purposes had by 1985 reached the sum of £7,000 per annum. To this must be added countless acts of practical help, great and small, over the years: they ranged from substantial gifts of equipment to long hours spent in helping with games, skilled repairs and odd jobs. Bristol Grammar School has been deeply fortunate in the good will of its parents over the last thirty years.

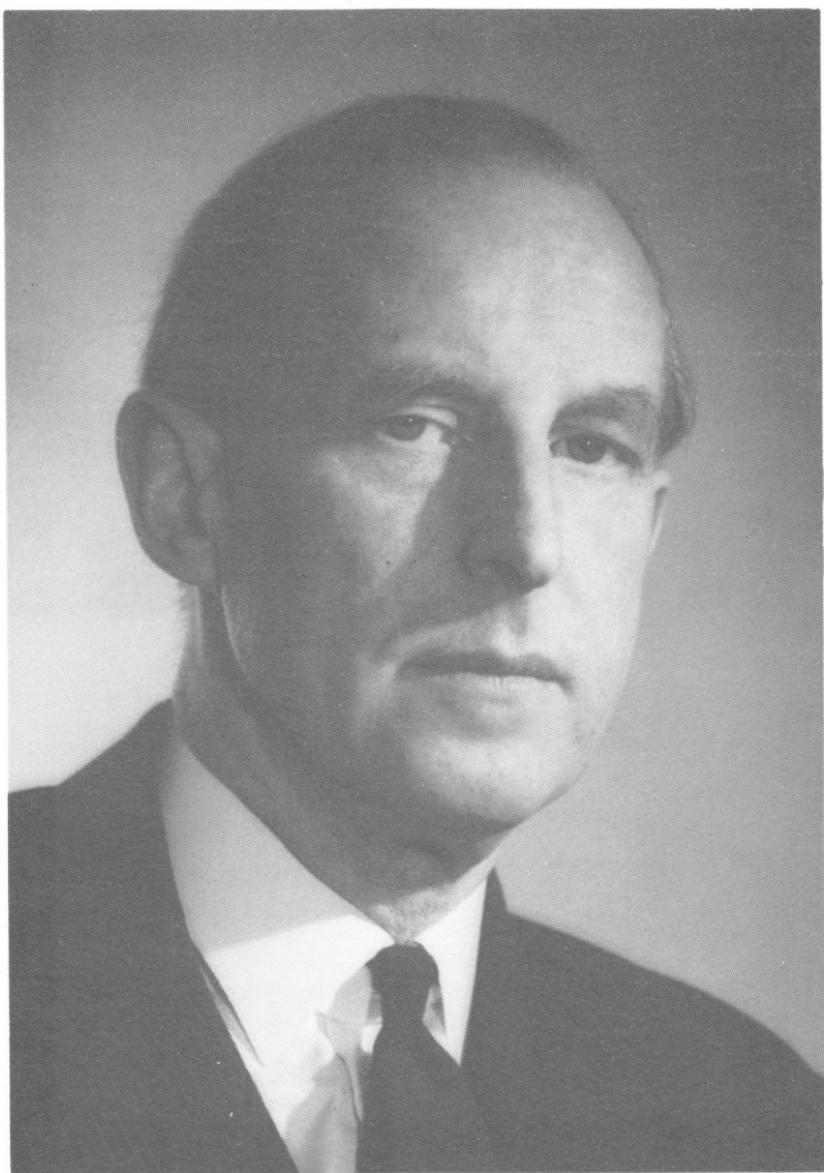
One further innovation of the 'fifties deserves special mention. This decade saw a widespread resumption of foreign travel by English school parties, in particular first to France and then to Germany, the latter as a deliberate means of promoting peace by the reconciliation of young people in the post-war years. This movement led naturally to exchanges and to links between pairs of similar schools across the frontiers. The city of Bristol had already developed a special relationship with Hanover in North-West Germany and out of this came a link between Bristol Grammar School and the Leibnizschule there. In 1954, the School took its *Taming of the Shrew* to Hanover, in 1960 an athletics team; the Leibnizschule sent its orchestra to Bristol twice in the 'fifties. The link between the two schools continued into the later 1970s.

John Garrett resigned through ill-health in 1960. He was only fifty-eight, but his last two years as Headmaster were sadly interrupted by illness. He died in 1966. His going from Bristol ended an epoch in the School's history. Authoritarian by instinct, he led his staff very firmly, and had no doubt that it was his duty and his role to inspire the boys, especially the Sixth Form, with his ideals. He made enemies, for he could

on occasions be insensitive in manner and speech and ruthless in action. He admired success. This could have disadvantages in some areas of education such as team games. His emphasis was on the traditional in education. This is illustrated in some of his comments on science as an inferior discipline. Yet, he is on record in a memorandum to the governors in 1955 demanding a new science building because he foresaw "a shift of gravity to science in the next twenty years". His support for the very able boy seemed disproportionate at times. Even so, not a few Old Bristolians of his time, boys whose own academic abilities were relatively modest, have recorded what they see as their debt to his encouragement and advice. Certainly he did an immense service to the School at a critical stage in its history. For he had both a largeness of vision for the community as a whole, and a power to provoke and awaken individual boys to self-fulfilment. He succeeded because in great part he was prepared to apply his instinctive authoritarianism to liberal ends. He insisted ceaselessly upon high standards for staff and boys alike. For all his emphasis on tradition he carried through varied and significant changes. In public he was outspoken in defence of grammar school values generally as well as of the School itself, at a time when these were under formidable challenge both locally and nationally. And until ill-health laid its hold upon him he did all these with force, style and personality.

#### 1960–1975

Garrett's successor was Dr. John Mackay. Aged 45 at the time of his appointment, he was then Second Master at Cheltenham College, where he had spent six years; he had previously taught at Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby. He had taken first class honours English at the University College of Nottingham, and had gained his Oxford D.Phil. in 1953 by work on Archbishop Tillotson. He brought with him a wife and young family to No. 7 Elton Road. A hockey



*Photograph by Desmond Tripp*  
PLATE XIII. DR. JOHN MACKAY  
Headmaster, 1960-75.

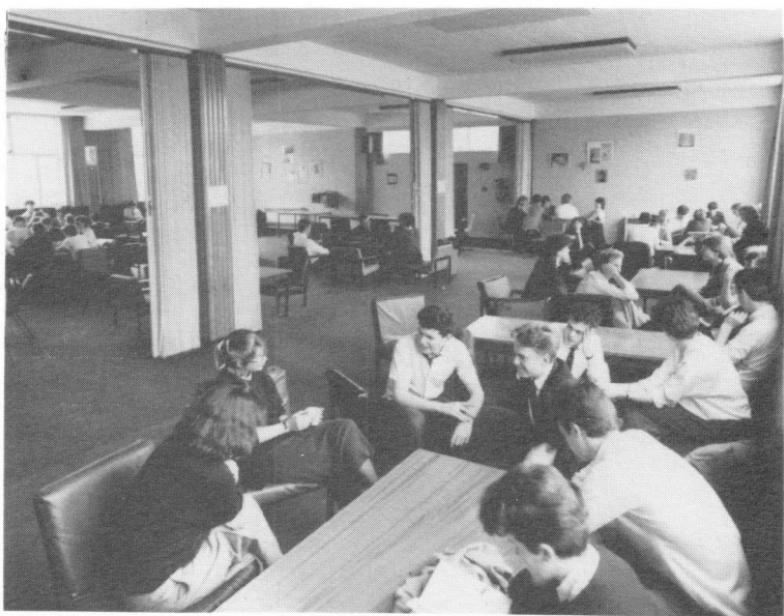
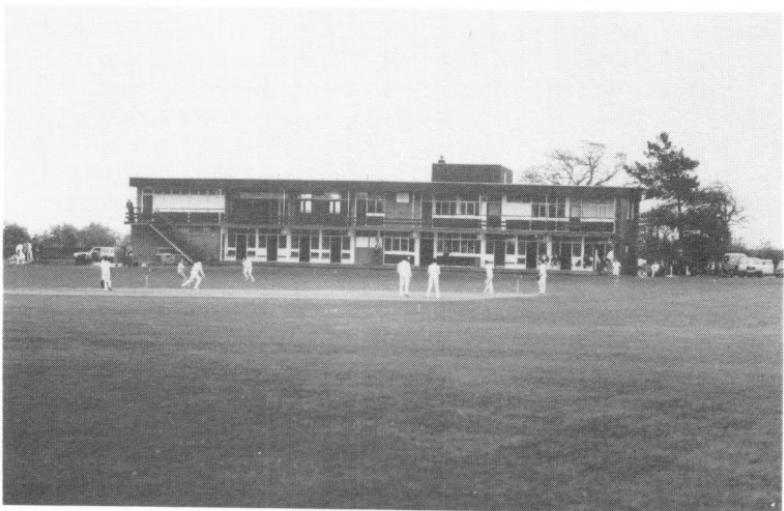


PLATE XIV. THE SIXTH FORM CENTRE



*Photograph by Mike Martin*

PLATE XV. THE PAVILION AND PLAYING FIELDS  
AT FAILAND

player and cricketer, he contributed to an encouraging start at Bristol by scoring 65 runs to help the staff XI defeat the School at Golden Hill.

John Mackay clearly had the intellectual calibre and appropriate teaching experience to tackle the responsibilities of his new post. He was to need to the full his high qualities, personal perhaps rather than academic, during his fifteen years at Tyndall's Park. He had indeed inherited a school of notable standard in a flourishing condition with a loyal and talented staff. But his inheritance came at a time when English education—particularly English secondary education—was undergoing radical review and overhaul, when too the ethos and very existence of grammar schools were being challenged as never before in their long history. They were attacked as socially divisive: homes for an intellectual minority, the privileged element in a pattern of secondary education which appeared to condemn four-fifths of the population to lifelong inferiority. Bristol Grammar School, since 1945, was firmly committed to the Direct Grant System, condemned by its critics as a mere palliative, indeed one which deprived Local Authority schools of their rightful share of talented pupils. The attack was the sharper because the issue had become a party-political affair, not least in the Bristol of the 1950s and 1960s, when, incidentally, Labour control of the City Council entailed Labour representation on the governing bodies of the city's seven Direct Grant grammar schools. Its impact had been in no sense blunted by John Garrett's readiness to denounce all critics of grammar schools in vigorous language.

This challenge—more accurately, this political threat—was an external one, confronting governors and headmaster rather than headmaster and staff. It hung over the School's existence through the 'sixties and reached its climax in the middle 'seventies. But it did not affect the School's daily life and discipline. A second kind of challenge, utterly different from the first in source, nature and implications, and common to every secondary school in the land did that. Education is at the mercy of its social environment, and Bristol Grammar School boys of those years were growing

to maturity in a period of extremely rapid social change. This found expression in a general relaxation of controls and of the traditional code; in particular, it involved an almost universally-approved practice of giving far greater freedom to young people in their teens. These years brought votes at eighteen and liberalisation of the laws about betting and gaming, abortion and divorce. Other influences were television with its capture of children's minds, the coming of teenage pop culture, advertising whose target was often 'the young', the Beatles, The Bishop of Woolwich's *Honest to God*, Penguin Books' triumph over *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, and the arrival of the 'pill'. These were also the years when English people—Bristol Grammar School parents no doubt confidently among them—began to think of themselves as an 'affluent society', where there was far more money about, with car ownership widespread and foreign travel by air almost commonplace. Most (by no means all) boys including Bristol Grammar School boys had much more to spend than earlier generations. There were darker elements in the pattern, too: the tally of violent crimes was rising, and the 'sixties brought a massive increase in the consumption of drugs by the young, with cannabis at its centre.

The impact of such changes in the wider society upon the values and discipline of an old fashioned boys' grammar school in a great city—a school, too, which contained a high proportion of sixth-formers—was bound to be severe and often painful. Slogans like 'permissiveness', 'participation', and 'pupil power' could not fail to catch on. Their manifestation in speech and action took various forms: the most obvious was long hair, the most important a wish for self-government, and there was a great deal of more or less open criticism of school practices and customs. Masters themselves, traditional custodians of culture as well as of law and order, were changing fast in 'style' and attitude, symbolised by a greater informality in dress and speech with the gradual abandonment of gowns and the growing use of Christian names for boys. All this reflected the ethos and spirit of the 'sixties. A few members of staff resisted change; a few were stigmatised as trendy by their colleagues; most

were often not at all clear what to do in practice. One certain consequence was to increase and strengthen contacts between masters and parents at personal level, with the latter often desperately anxious to solve the problem of their sons' strange development. Yet it seems not unlikely—at least statistically—that parental conduct made its own contribution to the situation. For the proportion of mothers going out to regular work went up at national level from 26% to 40% during the 1960s; while the divorce rate also rose, bringing, particularly at the end of the decade, a sharp increase in the number of broken homes. There were boys at the school for whom it was the one stable element in life. This situation would become more marked in later years.

Such developments necessarily thrust heavier responsibilities upon teachers at a time when it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain the School's high standard of staffing. Good schoolmasters had been easier to find in Barton's time: one was J.M. Harrison (Senior Science Master 1924-56, Second Master 1946-51) the tough and blunt-speaking Yorkshireman who created a Science Sixth at Bristol Grammar School and made it, in circumstances often discouraging, one of the best in England. Now in the post-war decades the creation of new occupations and types of professional work cut sharply into the supply of graduates for teaching, while within the field of education itself a greatly increased demand—at every level from the primary schools to the swelling ranks of administrators and the staffing of the new universities—drew them away from the schools. From Bristol Grammar School itself there were heavy losses, mostly of younger men now going for earlier promotion; but also of those who had given long and powerful service. Among the latter was F.S. Beecroft, who retired in 1968 after twenty three years as head of Modern Languages, seventeen as Second Master, virtually two as Acting Headmaster. The Headmaster in his annual report of that September spoke of the 'supreme good fortune' of the School in being 'served by so gifted and so devoted a man for a quarter of a century'. In the same report, he noted that eleven members of the Upper School staff had left that year.

This ebb and flow in these years did mean that at times a significant fraction of Upper School staff had been at the school for a short time only.

The new Headmaster's quality impressed itself early upon his colleagues, not least upon those who had been long years at the School, and the impression deepened through his fifteen years of office. They speak above all of his integrity, his genuine concern for staff and boys alike, and his obvious sincerity, characteristics backed by a quiet dignity and a refusal to be ruffled. He seemed infinitely accessible, but declined to be hurried into decisions, preferring to guide discussion rather than to dominate, and insisting on hearing all relevant points of view before forming his conclusions. At once, too, he set out—with the aid of a first-class mind and a remarkable memory—to get to know all he could about the school, its inhabitants (boys and masters, laboratory assistants, porters, kitchen staff, office staff), its laws and customs, its buildings. All this inevitably took time and slowed up administration, and to some he seemed a maddeningly slow starter, a belief strengthened by the serious motoring accident which he suffered early in his second year at Bristol and which kept him out of full action for some months. Happily for School his relationship with Frank Beecroft, who took charge yet again for a brief time, was good.

In an age of violently conflicting views on school and schooling, John Mackay was no dogmatist, no radical reformer; yet he had no fear of change, recognising it as an integral element in education. His dominant purpose and responsibility was to offer to each boy who came to the School an education of a grammar school type sufficiently appropriate to his individual needs in the society of his time, and to provide this at the highest practicable standard. To this end he was prepared to make changes or to resist them: an age of turmoil had its opportunities as well as its perils. As he once put it, he had no intention of "damaging what has been painfully established by the labours of generations of devoted men and women". Yet he recognised too that the social challenges and temptations of the 'sixties, which

pressed with great force upon all teenagers and in some ways peculiarly strongly on the intelligent boys who found themselves spending seven years at such a school as Bristol Grammar School, called for a wide-ranging reconstruction of what School was offering.

There followed, in John Mackay's own words, "a steady stream of new ideas and new methods, after they had been tested by careful thought and experiment." There was no master-plan: that would have been quite alien to his approach. Reform came piecemeal. Changes very often reflected sustained pressure by members of staff, or the work of *ad hoc* groups set up to investigate particular problems. If any single internal development dominated school policies during these years, it was the sheer growth of a Sixth Form nearly all of whose members now spent two years in it, the great majority going on to higher education. The number, the intellectual quality and the social interests of these boys cried out for changes in Sixth Form organisation, in curriculum and in the mode of subject choice; these in turn had their effect upon the work and the timetable of the earlier school years.

So the established division of the Sixth Form into very distinct forms (6 Classical, 6 Maths, 6 Science, 6 Modern, 6 Economics) disappeared. Boys could offer for GCE Advanced Level whatever combination of academic subjects they wished, limited only by the practical possibilities of man-power and teaching-space. This wider choice brought real benefits to the boys. For some it meant that they saw possibilities for themselves in the contemporary explosion of higher education, whereas before they would never have considered the possibilities. Some subjects gained as the result of this demand, while others like Classics lost in numbers but not in quality of mind. New subjects made their way into the A Level option: Russian was among these, and, perhaps more surprisingly, given the tradition at School, so were Art and Music, even though no room could be found for the latter in the regular timetable. During this period, a Minority Time was introduced into the Sixth and so widened the scope of the work.

Below the Sixth a similar pattern of increased flexibility evolved, with the reduction of the 'express' stream in the Removes to one and the eventual abandonment of a Classical form. This was a natural development as it became the norm for the great majority of the boys in the School to stay on into the Sixth. So most of these boys who had entered the Upper School at the age of eleven now arrived in the Sixth after a five year course to the GCE O Level examination which had given them the opportunity to study three sciences and two languages. This particular reform followed a careful investigation of examination results, which indicated that those who had taken five years to O Level fared no worse when they got to A Level than those who had taken only four. For quite different reasons, a similar process of 'de-streaming' was carried through with first-year entrants to the Upper School. Hitherto they had immediately upon arrival been grouped according to entrance examination results, with those coming from the Lower School allocated to the Thirds and the 'scholarship boys' to the Shells. Now all 150 of them were mixed in five unstreamed forms, with the former Lower School boys spread as thinly as possible. The result was a distinct social improvement with no decline in academic performance. There were also throughout the School some significant changes in teaching style and method: changes in no sense imposed from above, but rather reflecting either technological advance or shifting social attitudes. These ranged from the establishment of a well-equipped language room with tapes and audio-visual equipment to a greatly increased informality in class management, and from Nuffield Biology and 'Modern Maths' to field work in Geography based on the purchase and use of a disused railway station at Lodge Hill.

Besides the former changes, these years brought various alterations in school life and customs, some of which a few among staff and governors found initially disturbing, because they appeared to suggest a decay of corporate standards and a relaxation of discipline. One was the abolition of the customary annual Prize Day and the establishment instead, first in 1967 and then—initially, every other

year—of an Open Day. A second was the ending of the formal daily morning assembly and prayers for the whole Upper School in the Great Hall. This was replaced by a programme involving on most days House or Sixth Form or Middle School meetings, with the full School Assembly on two occasions only each week; their contents were very diverse and varied from the traditional 'hymn plus prayers plus notices'. A third departure from tradition, quite different in kind from the previous two, was the relaxation for Sixth Form boys of rules about school uniform and attendance. Coloured shirts came to replace white; games became voluntary for Sixth Formers of 16+; boys in third year Sixth were no longer required to wear school uniform or to attend on afternoons when they had no formal lessons. A fourth change of yet another sort and of considerable social value, was the creation of a very effective Careers Department, on the initiative of members of staff; this soon established itself as a wide-ranging element in linking the School as an institution and the boys as individuals with higher education and with the business world and professions both locally and nationally.

Such developments, whatever their wider implications, certainly did not appear to hinder academic success at the School. The established academic strength of the School was maintained, and the annual harvest at Oxford and Cambridge continued good. Perhaps more important overall—in view of the 'boom' in higher education during the 'sixties and of the huge increase in the size of the Sixth, which by 1973 was five times what it had been in 1943—the boys were regularly gaining places at British universities: from 1971-4 some 450 of them went on to higher education. Nor did the changes check an expansion of the wider cultural activities open to boys at the School. Here John Garrett had left a substantial legacy with the annual Shakespearian School play and Friday afternoon activities. The achievement of John Mackay and his colleagues was greatly to expand that legacy, to widen its range and deepen its content. Thereby they were in real measure helping to meet the social challenge of the times, not merely to strengthen the claims of

the boys as candidates for university places or other careers; for they were opening in a variety of ways the road to maturity on which young people of that day were so ardently setting out.

The most comprehensive guide to these developments is to be found in the pages of the *Chronicle*, especially after the mid-sixties. In 1968, the *Chronicle* itself took upon a new look, with bolder type, more illustrations, clearer lay out, and above all a consciously fresh approach to its task, thus symbolising as well as recording in splendid fashion the changing pattern of Bristol Grammar School life. Its pages portray over the years a host of activities—plays and concerts, clubs and societies, trips, tours and expeditions in Britain and overseas in addition to the time-honoured items of reports on school teams, accounts of major events such as the opening of new buildings, and tributes to departing masters. The panorama of those pages is richly varied, in places even kaleidoscopic. The heading 'Clubs', for example, covers Film (a club which made its own films, one, Karst winning a national award in 1965), Field, Printing, Stamps, Caving, Chess, Table Tennis, Judo and Geology; 'Societies' include Historical, Photographic, Debating, Science, Model Railway. The Christian Union, Social Service Unit, Military History Group, Classical Record Library, Jazz Folk and Blues Record Library—all are to be found in action. Whatever else this range of so-called 'out-of-class activities' implies about Bristol Grammar School, it is utterly remote from the antiquated picture, still current in hostile quarters during the 'seventies, of the grammar school as an institution narrowly dedicated to cramming.

Several of the larger scale activities within this present context deserve fuller description because of their deep significance in the life of many boys at the School as well as in the image the School presented to the wider world. The most obvious of these is the School Play. Here Shakespeare's monopoly ended almost immediately John Garett retired: the production of 1961 was *Billy Budd*. The tradition of alternating Shakespeare with a modern play was established. The general standard of production and performance remained

remarkably high, and their impact was substantially strengthened in the 'seventies by presentation in the Clifton College Theatre instead of the Victoria Rooms. The annual cycle of the school year brought a Middle School Play; House Plays came too, less regularly and more frivolously. So members of the School were still offered abundant work and play and challenge in dramatic performance.

It seems fair to say that the School's outstanding single cultural advance of these years was the transformation of the status of Music, particularly after 1969, when the first full-time Director of Music was appointed. The Headmaster, in 1974, said "It is astonishing now to reflect that so short a time ago the School Calendar included no special concert, no Senior or Junior Concert, no Summer Gilbert and Sullivan frolic in the Museum Lecture Theatre, and that Choir Tours were unknown." The substance behind that sentence lay in the creation within five years of a choir one hundred strong, well supplied with volunteer tenors and basses, and the raising to a similar figure of the total number of boys learning instruments. Here indeed was a real revolution in the School's history, involving the opening of a new dimension alike of enjoyment and of education in the lives of many of the boys, and adding notably to the School's public esteem in Bristol.

The Choir Tour—to York in 1971, to Hanover in 1972, sustaining the established relationship with the Liebnizschule, and to Holland in 1973—may serve to introduce another feature of the corporate life of the School at this time. This was travel, both in the British Isles and abroad, by groups of boys engaged in a great range of widely differing activities, from singing to skiing and from mountain climbing to classical archaeology. Climbers and walkers, both senior and middle school boys, went regularly to the Lake District as well as to the Ten Tors and the Pennine Way. Likewise ornithologists from the Field Club went annually to Slimbridge (winning considerable success in the competitions held annually there); trips further afield took them to the Texel and to Turkey. Parties of Classical students went both to Italy and to Greece to see the monuments of the

Ancient World, and skiers went off to the Swiss Alps. Even the New World was not neglected: there were six Bristol Grammar School boys in the party of thirty three from the Bristol schools which visited the United States in 1963 under the leadership of a member of Bristol Grammar School staff.

This remarkable explosion of activities—at Bristol Grammar School as at other schools—was no doubt in part an obvious response to contemporary social change, at a time when improved transport by land and air was making foreign travel as commonplace as never before in British life, while the content and the methods of education were being widely debated and liberalised. Certainly such developments contributed significantly to presenting the School as a vigorous and outward-looking community, in active touch with the world around it, and in no sense narrow or cloistered in its firm defence of the grammar school tradition. They thereby helped to strengthen its appeal to Bristol parents, and enabled the governors to take the vital decisions of this critical period in the School's history.

Organised games and the Combined Cadet Force, traditional elements in the life at the School since early in the twentieth century, continued to win lively enthusiasm from many boys; but both faced difficulties in these years. For neither was it easy to secure or to retain appropriate staffing; so in the established compulsory and time-tabled games (Rugby, Hockey and Cricket) pressures on Housemasters and masters in charge of school teams increased severely. At the same time the readiness of boys to take part in team games was diminishing significantly. In part this reflected attitudes in society at large, as the scope for a great variety of individual leisure and sporting activities increased. At the School, swimming and athletics, fencing, judo, tennis and golf all became acceptable as games options challenging the team games. But there were other factors at work too. One—part cause and part effect of the changing attitude—was the decision of 1968 to make games voluntary for all boys over 16, in effect the entire Sixth Form and many in the Removes. Cricket in particular suffered from this conscious measure of liberalisation, with the pressure in the summer

term of external examinations, more significant than ever as keys to a boy's future. A second was the problem imposed by the distance from Tyndall's Park of the Failand ground, now coming into ever greater use; its dependence on an organised service of coaches inevitably restricted time and cramped opportunity. A third was the effect of the increasing catchment area of the School. Bristol Grammar School was no longer an 'inner city' school: boys' homes were scattered over a wide suburban area and hinterland, and many made substantial daily journeys by bus, train or car, a situation limiting the duration of games and of practice for them.

The results of these developments were that the teams, perhaps, did not achieve a sustained high performance, but that a great number of the boys (too many to name individually) at all age levels and across the entire range of games and sports, both team and individual, reached distinction at county, city and national level. There was, too, abundant and continuing evidence that a great many boys at the School, whatever their standard of performance, quite simply found personal enjoyment and satisfaction in their games. In a contemporary society where top-class sport appeared to be increasingly dominated by money and by the media, this itself was something of an achievement.

Games and travel, clubs and societies enlarged horizons for boys and no doubt also helped to take some steam out of the 'turbulence' of these years at Bristol Grammar School; so, too, in a special way did the activities in several areas of Bristol of the Social Service Unit. Nevertheless contemporary social pressures certainly increased the need in the School for pastoral care to cope with a wide range of problems from classroom problems and demands for greater freedom to the impact of a broken home. Members of staff had an ever broader front on which to speak for the values for which Bristol Grammar School claimed to stand. Thus Year Heads were added to the traditional Form Masters and Housemasters, a step which reflected increasing need for contacts between staff and parents. Inevitably the problems of the time were sharpest in the Sixth Form. Here physical proximity to the University of Bristol and the student

'sit-ins' at the Senate House no doubt sharpened emotions; although a raid on the School by student visitors who put up notices invoking revolt attracted little response except from members of staff who removed the notices. In 1968, there was in the Sixth what the headmaster called 'a sense of outrage' and also a brief sit-in over the suspension of one of its members for two months because he refused to have his hair cut. This episode strengthened a growing demand for a Sixth Form Council. The Headmaster had himself been reflecting for some time upon what he described in his Report of 1967 as "unmistakable signs of a change of atmosphere in the Sixth Form." He told the governors that for the first time prefects themselves had suggested they should be elected rather than appointed, and he noted that "the Sixth Formers of to-day are in many ways much nearer being young men and young women than their predecessors of ten or twenty years ago", and that "it is simply useless to treat them as though they were their predecessors."

So in July 1969 the *Chronicle* duly recorded the first meeting of an elected Sixth Form Council, set up "to represent the opinion of the Sixth Form on matters relating to the improvement of Sixth Form life; to provide generally a forum for discussion on school life and a focal point for new ideas; to make suggestions for the consideration of the Headmaster; to assume organising and administrative responsibilities delegated by the Headmaster." Its work in school affairs was in practice limited; its main role was the intangible one of strengthening that loyalty among senior boys without which no great school can survive.

As in the Upper School, so in the Lower School the years from 1960 onwards brought substantial changes under new leadership; none of them notably radical in detail, yet as a whole bringing real and significant differences in style and in daily work, making the School far more effective in meeting contemporary needs. For in 1960 the Lower School, then habitually called 'the Prep.', was something of an appendage to what was then frequently referred to as 'the Main School'. Support for it from the Bristol public was quite strong, and the transfer in 1946 of the Peloquin Scholarships to boys in

the Lower School helped provide pace-setters there, many of whom later had very successful careers in the Upper School. Nevertheless some features of the Lower School clearly offered scope for improvement. This gradually came about after the appointment in 1962, under the title used then of 'master-in-charge', of Mr. D.E. Maltby. It was the first such appointment made from outside the ranks of Upper School staff since 1908.

The buildings—only too evidently not purpose built—and their surroundings began to be altered in a variety of ways, from the introduction of central heating (1966), the installation of blackboards, the re-decoration in lighter colours to the more substantial changes in the 'eighties. The Library, steadily expanded, became very much the cultural heart of the school. Music and Art provided a larger share of the curriculum. Activities included games with the addition of rugby, swimming, plays, and from 1970 the annual camp. Another feature was the Carol Service held annually from 1963. Changes of staff, with the coming of younger teachers conscious of commitment to what was now a school of their own, helped to make the teaching more child-centred, yet without losing the rigorous grounding needed for entry into the Upper School.

Active co-operation with parents developed and became a mainspring of the Lower School. They gave generously of time, labour, transport and money in special events like the Annual Spring Fair and in the day-to-day provision of minor improvements. The formation of the Lower School's Parent Association and their contribution to the school is evidence of their care. Their steady propaganda on the school's behalf in the city was valuable. The numbers were maintained. A majority of the boys gained places in the Upper School and many competed for the free places under the Direct Grant Regulations. This happy, energetic community must have been an asset when the policy of independence was implemented.

To have carried the School successfully through the period of student unrest and to have implemented changes must be reasonably claimed as a great achievement for the Headmaster and his colleagues. This was the more remarkable in

that they went about their daily work of teaching and educating against a darkening public background. In these years the external political threat to the values and to the very existence of the School reached its climax. In 1945 the governors had rejected a proposal that the School should become independent, and had instead committed themselves to the Direct Grant system. But in 1964 came the election of a Labour government committed to the introduction of comprehensive education throughout the nation's maintained secondary schools. This policy was embodied in Circular 10/65 requiring all Local Education Authorities to prepare schemes to that end. Inevitably this step threw doubt on the survival of the compromise involved in the Direct Grant System. Locally the Labour controlled Bristol City Council declared its intention of 'going comprehensive', and announced that it would take no further places in the city's seven Direct Grant Schools after 1964. The financial implications for School were obvious, and so was the threat to the School's historic role of providing grammar school education of high quality to able boys from every type of social background.

In 1966 one of the city's representatives on the School's governing body formally proposed that Bristol Grammar School should become a comprehensive school. The motion was heavily defeated. But in 1970 the Public Schools Commission, which had visited the School in the course of a detailed investigation of all direct Grant and Independent day schools, recommended the end of the Direct Grant system. The response of the governors of the School was prompt. By a large majority they declared that if the main recommendations of the Commission's report were implemented without alteration the School would become independent at the appropriate time; and in 1971, they set up a study group of governors and staff to investigate the problems and possibilities of independence. This group's report of 1972, firmly recommending independence, was an exhaustive survey of the issues involved, social and educational as well as financial. Meanwhile the coming of a Conservative government in 1970 had stayed the executioner's axe over

Direct Grant; but the Labour electoral victory of 1974 brought it down, decreeing the ending of the system in 1976.

The alternatives for Bristol Grammar School were plain—*independence* or *extinction*. It was made clear to the governors that there was no place for Bristol Grammar School in the plans of the newly-formed Avon County Council, whatever the political party in power: there could be no financial aid, and the Tyndall's Park buildings were not needed in Bristol's new pattern of comprehensive education. The two arguments of 1945 against *independence*, countered at that date by the existence of Direct Grant, were still strong. One of them, the financial, indeed seemed stronger than ever in the seemingly uncontrollable oil-based inflation of the mid-'seventies. The other, the fear that *independence* would produce a school for rich men's sons, was deeply felt by the teaching staff. They supported *independence*, but they made plain their belief that the School would have both to maintain its high academic standards in order to continue to attract able teachers, and to find means of admitting able boys irrespective of their parents' means. The governors' firm choice of *independence*, made at a time when demographic statistics indicated an inevitable fall of some 24% in the secondary school population during the 'eighties, was the most important decision of the School's history. It was embodied in a letter of intent sent in the summer of 1975 to the parents of all boys in the School: this stated that Bristol Grammar School would become an independent school when in September 1976 the government began to phase out the Direct Grant system. There was, the governors declared, "no other way of preserving the essential characteristics and educational standards of which the School is justly proud." A second joint study group examined in detail the practical problems immediately ahead.

During this period of crisis, and in the years which followed the declaration of *independence*, School was fortunate in having two successive Chairmen of Governors, Charles Clements (1968-75) and David Williams (1975-83), who—in very different styles—were clear-minded and

shrewd leaders, quite unafraid to take decisions in the light of full discussion. One significant feature of recent years in the history of the School has been the emergence of the governors to play a far more active and more visible role than ever before, both in the development of joint staff-governors committees and on social occasions and enterprises at the School; the contrast with the 'fifties was immense. Here the crisis which culminated in independence, with its challenge to staff and governors alike—a threat which had led naturally to a closing of the ranks in resistance—had a lasting consequence of continuing benefit to the school community.

The critical developments of the early 'seventies did not prevent a notable addition to the buildings on Tyndall's Park. Newcomers to the School staff had long been startled when they first contemplated the cramped surroundings and out-of-date buildings in which a thousand boys were being offered an education appropriate to the second half of the twentieth century. John Mackay had himself put forward as early as 1963 proposals for new buildings, but the mid-sixties brought only groups of terrapins, a relief for immediate ills. These served as a daily reminder of the need for better things. The Headmaster's thinking on new buildings reflected his sense of the supreme importance of the Sixth Form at the School in this era, and his conviction that their needs—social as well as intellectual—cried out for treatment very different from that customarily given to their predecessors. The days when austere, indeed barbaric, classrooms with rows of battered desks could also serve as common rooms for able young were clearly over by the 'sixties. His Report of 1967 argued passionately that "a new atmosphere and spirit is establishing itself in the Sixth Form and new forms of social organisation, new routines, new social groupings must be made possible to allow it to find constructive expression", and ended with a *cri de cœur* that "the provision of Sixth Form accommodation on quite a new scale and of quite a new kind during, say, the next five years at the very most is *absolutely critical* for the future of the School."

Out of these proposals, with the firm backing of a new Chairman of Governors in 1968, came the development

programme and appeal of 1969, leading to the opening in 1973 of a new block of buildings containing a Sixth Form Centre (which gave its name to the whole) and a Library. At any time this would have been a major extension of buildings and resources. Against the background of the early 'seventies, with the School's entire future under threat, it was a bold and generous act of faith by governors, staff, parents, Friends, Old Bristolians and others, who contributed thought, time and money to its achievement. Its two diverse elements served a common end in wholly distinct ways. The Sixth Form Centre itself with its Junior Common Room provided, in the words of a *Chronicle* comment, "a focal point . . . an opportunity for the Sixth Form to become a community in a real sense, in which subject divisions need no longer be emphasised by physical separation." Its Junior Common Room, resembling a university common room, "marks the changed status of the Sixth within the School . . . it is in keeping with the times that the boys who are starting on A Level courses should be treated more as young adults than as big schoolboys." Some of these boys would gain the vote before they left school. Superficially it was a radical departure from the established practices of the School; in reality it provided a contemporary social context for what in essentials remained a profoundly traditional education—and thereby powerfully reinvigorated it.

The new Library, which covered the ground where the small pavilion of 1908 had stood, was equally an integral element in the Headmaster's design to provide an appropriate environment for the Sixth formers of the 'seventies. The existing library—itself a notable achievement—had become quite inadequate, both in space for books (20,000 of them now, with an annual average of 1500 accessions) and in facilities for readers to meet the needs of the School with a high proportion of boys in the Sixth. The new Library is a building of size, comfort and efficiency, with an open central area and ample shelving up to six feet high offering some sixty carrels for individual work. It is carpeted, furnished with light and comfortable chairs and is adorned with oil paintings of Bristol on its walls. Equipped with a new

catalogue unit and greatly extended subject index, it contains working rooms for the library staff and a stack-room for some 8,000 little-used books. Boys' use of the library rose substantially upon its opening; a survey in 1976 showed that almost 1000 more books were on loan than at the same time ten years before. The winter *Chronicle* of 1977 recorded that 7000 volumes had been added to stock since the opening of the new building four years earlier, despite a steep rise in the prices of books. The library at the School has always owed much to gifts from parents, masters and boys on leaving and Old Bristolians—and one effect of the new building was greatly to stimulate this generosity. The School has been splendidly fortunate in having two successive Librarians, so dedicated and gifted as Fred Perry and Richard Camp, whose combined work in creating and expanding the Library has covered nearly sixty years.

The Sixth Form Centre, in its purpose and its elements, symbolised John Mackay's achievement for the School; it was in a sense the visible climax of his career. He retired in 1975: the *Chronicle* of that summer contains a set of notably warm tributes. The catalogue of achievements carried through at the School under his leadership speaks for itself. After ten years, it would be impossible to offer a detailed 'historical' judgement. It is plain that he can unquestionably claim a place on any short list of outstanding headmasters of the School. His election as Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference in 1970 was a national recognition of quality already abundantly clear in Bristol. Those connected with the School who tested that quality through fifteen difficult years came to have a deep trust in him, just as he based policy and action upon trust in them; and here lay the basis of his success. To boys he was a 'presence', yet an approachable one, fair-minded and honest, never vindictive; to parents notably humane, the embodiment of a caring school. The staff found in him a first class mind and a sure grasp of detail, immense powers of hard work (not least in chairing staff committees), an acute sensitivity to personal needs and a lively sense of humour. They appreciated, too, the support given by his wife, Margaret. Old Bristolians appreciated both his gifts as a



*Photograph by Bromhead Ltd.*

PLATE XVI. ROY AVERY, ESQ.  
Headmaster, 1975-86.



PLATE XVII. THE LOWER SCHOOL



*Photograph by Mike Martin*

PLATE XVIII THE SCIENCE LABORATORIES, MODERNISED 1985-6

speaker and his readiness to support their activities. To the governors he was an eloquent and tough-minded advocate, an enemy of humbug and a firm champion of academic standards.

### 1975-86

His successor in 1975 was Mr Roy Avery, then Headmaster of Harrow County Grammar School for Boys. The historian at this point is very near to and often involved personally in the events, hence the factual summary. Later generations will consider their educational, social, economic and historical significance.

This period under Roy Avery saw the establishment of independence, the introduction of co-education and the continued liberalisation of the education provided. The curriculum and organisation of the school were still further adapted to the changing needs of society with a great increase in social and cultural activities as well as the extension of various sporting and open air activities. The buildings were greatly extended and redeployed to enable these developments to flourish. The Lower School, too, has gained through this and plays a vital role in the community. The appointment of a Bursar was another aspect of this development.

The high reputation of the School, local and national, was reflected in the generous response to the Appeal which was organised to celebrate the 450th anniversary of the foundation of the School. This achievement is a tribute to the blending of leadership with the loyal and generous support of the staff, governors, pupils, parents, Friends, Old Bristolians, non-teaching staff and with the wider community together with the generosity of individuals—one of whom, John James, should be named.

## SOURCES

THE history of Bristol Grammar School sets the historian a curious technical problem. For that period of at least three centuries during which the School existed before the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 the sources are extremely scanty. The Governors possess a number of legal documents—the Charter and various deeds, indentures and the like, affecting particularly the lands belonging to the School—dating from 1532 onwards; but they have very little else of earlier date than the 'thirties of the nineteenth century. Registers and similar documents covering the long years when the School was controlled by the Corporation of the city have vanished. In the City Archives, the Council Proceedings provide a steady but very thin trickle of information from the early seventeenth century onwards; and other records like the Mayors' Audit books and collections of wills are useful for the sixteenth century. Various other sources give a little more evidence, most notably, of course, for the eighteenth century. But the total is very limited, until the passage of the Act of 1835 transferring the School from the Corporation to the Trustees of the Municipal Charities. Thenceforward, and especially after the re-opening of the School in 1848, the material is more plentiful. Within half a century, indeed, the trickle has become a flood; and the historian who has previously been husbanding the drops finds himself almost swept off his feet. Not only are there the very full records of administration, admissions, examinations, and so forth kept by the Trustees and (after 1875) by the Governors. There is the abundant supply of information offered by the vigorous and wordy Bristol newspapers of the second half of the nineteenth century; relevant extracts have been carefully filed in the Trustees' office since the late eighteen-sixties. There is the broadening river of personal recollection, and the vast increase in the public documentation of general educational history during the last hundred years. And since 1879, with one trifling interruption, there have been the *Chronicles*, the School magazines. Their account of the School's domestic affairs, with its ample

detail and its own very marked evolution of style through the years, does what the other sources can rarely do; it enables the historian to go inside the school community.

To these original sources must be added a number of secondary authorities, among them the several histories and annals of Bristol, and to all of these reference is made at appropriate points in the notes. The following abbreviations have been used in the notes—

ACB—documents in the Archives of the City of Bristol.  
 BMC—documents in the possession of the Trustees of Bristol Municipal Charities.  
 Barrett—W. Barrett: *History and Antiquities of Bristol* (1789).  
 CSP—*Calendar of State Papers*.  
 Chron.—*Bristol Grammar School Chronicle* (the School Magazine, first issued in 1879).  
 Co. Proc.—*Proceedings of the Common Council of the City of Bristol*.  
 DNB—*Dictionary of National Biography*.  
 FGSMB—*Bristol Free Grammar School Minute Books*, 1836–50.  
 Fuller—T. Fuller: *Worthies of England* (ed. Nuttall, 1840).  
 GSMB—*Bristol Grammar School Minute Books*, 1850–75.  
 Govs. MB—*Minute Books of the Governors of Bristol Grammar School*, 1875–1986  
 Hakluyt—R. Hakluyt: *Principal Voyages and Navigations of the English Nation* (Everyman Lib. ed. 1907).  
 Larcombe—H. J. Larcombe: *The Progress of Education in Bristol* (Typescript in the Central Library of the City of Bristol, 1924).  
 Latimer, 18th Century Bristol—J. Latimer: *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (1893).  
 Latimer, 19th Century Bristol—J. Latimer: *Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century* (1887).  
 Manchee—Joshua Manchee: *The Bristol Charities* (1831).  
 SEC—*Reports of the Schools Enquiry Commission of 1869* (the Taunton Commission).  
 Sampson—W. A. Sampson: *A History of the Bristol Grammar School* (1912).  
 Seyer—Samuel Seyer: *Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol and its Neighbourhood* (1821–3).  
 VCH, Gloucester—*Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, Vol. II (1907).  
 Webbs—Sidney and Beatrice Webb: *English Local Government: Manor and Borough* (1908).

The various Bristol and national newspapers which I have used are given virtually full titles in the notes; so are those secondary authorities to which there is only a single or an occasional reference. I should also like to acknowledge my debt to the following general works on the period covered by this book, whether explicitly mentioned in the notes or not—

J. W. Adamson: *Short History of Education* (1930).  
*English Education, 1789–1902* (1930).

D. W. Brogan: *The English People* (1943).

R. C. K. Ensor: *England, 1870–1914* (1936).

E. Halévy: *History of the English People* (Eng. trans. 1924, etc.).

J. L. and B. Hammond: *The Bleak Age* (1934).

W. O. Lester Smith: *To Whom do Schools Belong?* (1942).  
*Education in Great Britain* (1949).

G. A. N. Lowndes: *The Silent Social Revolution* (1937).

C. M. MacInnes: *Gateway to Empire* (1939).

Sir Cyril Norwood: *The English Tradition in Education* (1929).

W. K. Richmond: *Education in England* (1945).

G. M. Trevelyan: *English Social History* (1944).

J. A. Williamson: *The Ocean in English History* (1941).

E. L. Woodward: *The Age of Reform* (1938).

The following books provide some background material for the more recent period—

P. H. J. H. Gosden: *The Education System since 1944* (1983).

A. M. Kazamias: *Politics, Society and Secondary Education in England* (1966).

John Roach: *A History of Secondary Education in England 1800–1870* (1987).

Edward Royle: *Modern Britain. A Social History 1750–1985* (1987).

John Stevenson: *British Society 1914–45* (1984).

J. H. Bettey: *Wessex from A.D. 1000* (1986).

Richard Camp: *The Victorian Architecture of The Grammar School, Bristol* (1982).

Jean Vanes: *Apparelled in Red (History of the Redmaids School)* (1984).

The Bristol Grammar School Honours List (1966—).

## NOTES

### Chapter I

1. BMC, 163/2: Foundation Charter of B.G.S.
2. DNB, XX, pp. 1252-5: art. on West, Sir Thomas.
3. DNB, V, pp. 115-16: art. on Crofts or Craft, George.
4. Sampson, pp. 46-7.
5. For the Thorne's part in voyages from Bristol see C. M. MacInnes: *Gateway of Empire* (1939), Ch. II, and J. A. Williamson: *The Ocean in English History* (1941), pp. 59-62.
6. Hakluyt, I, p. 229.
7. For the Cabot Voyages see J. A. Williamson: *The Voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot* (Historical Association Pamphlet No. 106, 1937).
8. MacInnes, op. cit., pp. 36-40.
9. VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 362.
10. Copies of portraits of Robert and Nicholas Thorne hang in the board-room of the offices of the trustees of Bristol Municipal Charities, and copies of these in the Great Hall of the School. Neither the painter nor the fate of the originals is known; there is no evidence whatever that they were the work of Holbein. See the note in Sampson, pp. 25-7.
11. CSP, Henry VIII, Vol. IV, Pt. 2, p. 1255.
12. Hakluyt, I, pp. 228-9.
13. Hakluyt, I, pp. 212-16. It is virtually reproduced in Roger Barlow's *Brief Summe of Geographie* (Hakluyt Society, 1932).
14. For Robert Thorne II as a promoter of voyages and geographical writer, see J. A. Williamson: *Maritime Enterprise* (1913), pp. 258-62, and *Voyages of the Cabots* (1929), pp. 150-2, 222-3, 262-7; also E. G. R. Taylor: *Tudor Geography, 1485-1603* (1930), pp. 45-51.
15. BMC, 163/1: Indenture of Covenant. This is the oldest surviving deed belonging to Bristol Grammar School.
16. VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 364.
17. VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 355. This remarkable article on Bristol Grammar School by the great historian of English grammar schools, A. F. Leach, makes the utmost of all the scraps of medieval evidence; although it was published in 1907, there is no evidence that Sampson, whose history of the School appeared in 1912, read it, despite his reference to other works by Leach. My own debt to it in this and the following paragraphs is great, although I cannot go all the way with Leach in his inferences.
18. Leland: *Itinerarium* (ed. Hearn, 1744), vii, p. 88.
19. J. Britton: *History and Antiquities of the Abbey and Cathedral Church of Bristol* (1830), p. 22.
20. ACB: Mayor's Audit Books, 1532, pp. 15-16.
21. ACB: Mayor's Audit Books, 1532, p. 15; 1533, p. 141; 1535, p. 13; 1536, p. 85; 1540, p. 169; 1543, p. 181; 1546, p. 327.
22. ACB: Great Orphan Book: Will of Robert Thorne.
23. The article on Robert Thorne in the DNB (XIX, p. 774) is undoubtedly incorrect in giving 1527 as the date of his death; the evidence of the will is perfectly clear, quite apart from that provided by the *Declaration of the*

*Indies.* The mistake seems to be based on CSP, Henry VIII, Vol. IV, Pt. 2, p. 1255, where five separate items about Thorne are all catalogued under the date (1527) of the first one; although there is no evidence to prove that the other four are of that date, it happens that the last of them—which itself contains no date—is “The whole inventory of the goods of my brother Robert Thorne, whose soul Jesu pardon.” *The Family of Withypoll*, by G. C. Moore Smith (Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, 1936), contains an excellent short account of the Thornes.

24. Sampson, pp. 52–6.
25. Fuller, III, 119–20. He quotes the epitaph from Stow’s *Survey of London*; it is to be found in Strype’s edition (1720), I, ii, 123.
26. This brass was originally erected on his tomb in the church of St. Werburgh in Corn Street, Bristol, and was presented to the School when the Church was demolished in 1876–7.
27. Seyer, ii, pp. 222 and 223.
28. BMC, 163/5: Deed Poll, 1st July, 1561.
29. ACB: Great Orphan Book: Will of Nicholas Thorne.
30. Chron., April, 1909.
31. BMC, 163/11: Indenture, 12th April, 1621.
32. VCH, Gloucester, II, pp. 366–70, contains a full and amply documented account of the transactions; Sampson, pp. 48–66, is less satisfactory.
33. BMC, 163/4: Indenture, 15th February, 1557–8.
34. BMC, 163/5: Deed Poll, 1st July, 1561.
35. VCH, Gloucester, II, 367: the deed itself is the Indenture of 20th September, 1561, BMC, 163/6.
36. ACB: Mayor’s Audit Book, 1590.
37. VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 369, quoting Public Record Office, Chan. Petty Bag. Inq. 7, Jas. I.
38. ACB: Mayor’s Audit Book, 1566–7 and following years.
39. ACB: Mayor’s Audit Book, 1604; Co. Proc., 1598–1608, p. 47.
40. As note 37, above.
41. BMC, 163/9: Inspeximus of Decree of Chancery, 21st May, 1621.
42. BMC, 163/10: Indenture, 7th June, 1617.
43. BMC, 163/11: Indenture, 12th April, 1621.
44. Sampson, pp. 52–5, contains a useful summary.

### *Chapter II*

45. John Brinsley: *Ludus Literarius or the Grammar Schoole* (1612) (ed. E. T. Campagnac, 1917), p. 288. E. T. Campagnac was an Old Bristolian.
46. See J. E. Neale: *Queen Elizabeth* (1934), pp. 205–12, for a delightful account.
47. *Daily Press*, 26th June, 1890 (Educational Notes): this contains a brief and somewhat inaccurate history of the School.
48. Co. Proc., 1659–75, pp. 151–4.
49. Co. Proc., 1827–32, pp. 86–97 (Committee Report).
50. For the 1745 revision, Co. Proc., 1738–45, pp. 231 *et seq.*; for that of 1812, Co. Proc., 1808–14, pp. 281 *et seq.*
51. Canons of James I (1604), No. LXXVII.
52. Co. Proc., 1659–75, p. 77.
53. Co. Proc., 1659–75, p. 121.
54. BMC, 163/5: Deed Poll, 1st July, 1561.
55. John Strype: *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* (1694), p. 90.

56. W. O. Lester Smith: *To Whom do Schools Belong?* (1942), pp. 49-50.

57. Co. Proc., 1608-27, p. 107.

58. Co. Proc., 1608-27, p. 108.

59. J. W. Adamson: *A Short History of Education* (1930), pp. 122-5.

60. See, for example, Co. Proc., 1738-45, p. 192.

61. I. Parker: *Dissenting Academies* (1914), App. I, p. 140.

62. Sir Cyril Norwood: *The English Tradition in Education* (1929), pp. 12-13.

63. Sampson, pp. 221-41, gives careful and almost complete lists of Head-masters, ushers, and assistant masters from 1532 to 1911 inclusive.

64. BMC, 163/1: Indenture of Covenant.

65. ACB: Great Orphan Book: Will of Nicholas Thorne.

66. For these developments see ACB: Mayor's Audit Books, 1562 and following years; also the accounts in Sampson, p. 57, and VCH, Gloucester, II, pp. 367-9.

67. Larcombe, Ch. II, p. 8, quoting Stowe: *Elizabethan Grammar Schools*, p. 86, Table I.

68. Co. Proc., 1598-1608, p. 47.

69. Co. Proc., 1598-1608, p. 58.

70. VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 369; BMC, 163/9: *InspeXimus of Degree of Chancery*, 21st May, 1621.

71. Co. Proc., 1627-42, p. 13.

72. Sampson, pp. 74-5; ACB: Will Book No. 3, p. 267.

73. Co. Proc., 1649-59, p. 146.

74. For the material of this and the following paragraphs see also Sampson, pp. 68-70, 84-8, and 229-30, and VCH, Gloucester, II, pp. 370-4.

75. Co. Proc., 1649-59, p. 157.

76. Co. Proc., 1649-59, p. 167.

77. Co. Proc., 1670-87, p. 149.

78. Co. Proc., 1670-87, p. 240.

79. Co. Proc., 1687-1702, p. 39.

80. Co. Proc., 1687-1702, pp. 125-6; A. T. Lee: *History of the Town and Parish of Tetbury* (1857). This last reference I owe to F. H. Towill, Esq.

81. Co. Proc., 1687-1702, p. 155.

82. Co. Proc., 1702-22, p. 65.

83. Co. Proc., 1702-22, p. 97.

84. Daniel Defoe: *A Tour through England and Wales* (Everyman ed., 1928), II, pp. 36-7 and 115-17.

85. Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, pp. 96-8; see also the passage from *An Anatomical Epitaph on an Invalid written by Himself*, one of Goldwin's poems, quoted by Sampson, pp. 105-6.

86. Co. Proc., 1702-22, pp. 464-5.

87. Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, p. 119, has a brief account of this dispute.

88. Barrett, p. 514: see also DNB, III, pp. 1188-9, for an account of Catcott's life.

89. Co. Proc., 1722-38, p. 32.

90. A. S. Catcott: *The Exercises Performed at a Visitation of the Grammar School of Bristol*, published at Felix Farley's Press at Shakespeare's Head in Castle Street, Bristol (1737), p. vi.

91. Co. Proc., 1738-45, p. 178.

92. Co. Proc., 1754-62, p. 122.

93. Co. Proc., 1754-62, esp. pp. 169 and 197-8.

94. Population Studies, iii, March, 1950, p. 347.

95. *Daily Press*, 26th June, 1890 (Educational Notes).

96. Co. Proc., 1659-75, p. 154.

97. A. S. Catcott, op. cit., for this and the following paragraphs.

98. ACB: Mayor's Audit Books, 1620-4 and 1625-9; VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 371; Sampson, pp. 108-12.

99. Co. Proc., 1649-59, p. 157.

100. An article by A. B. Beaven, O.B., in the *Chronicle* of April, 1911, contains a list of them as far as 1833, with details about their careers: the honours boards on the main stairway in the School record the names of all (sixty-nine in number) as far as 1950. For Sir Thomas White see, e.g. Thornton's *History of Nottinghamshire* (1797), Vol. II, pp. 48-9, Stevenson and Salter's *Early History of St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford Historical Series: New Series, I, 1939), and DNB, LXI, pp. 76-8.

101. Co. Proc., 1687-1702, p. 203.

102. Co. Proc., 1687-1702, pp. 201 *et seq.* and 214-15.

103. For this information about the Whitson Exhibitioners, of which I make use in the following paragraphs, I am indebted to Wilfrid Leighton, Esq., who has kindly allowed me to use the results of his investigations of this subject in various early minute books now in the possession of the Trustees of Bristol Municipal Charities.

104. Co. Proc., 1738-45, p. 5.

105. DNB, IX, pp. 315-16 and X, pp. 308-9; *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, Vol. 58, 1936.

106. John Evans: *Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol* (1824), p. 361.

107. Sampson, pp. 103-4.

108. A. S. Catcott, op. cit., pp. 55-8. The authorship of this piece is uncertain; although it is traditionally attributed to Catcott himself, the argument for this amounts to little more than the fact that he had once written verse.

### *Chapter III*

109. Sampson, pp. 126 *et seq.*; VCH, Gloucester, II, pp. 375-7; Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, pp. 374-77; Latimer, *19th Century Bristol*, p. 46.

110. Co. Proc., 1802-8, p. 41.

111. For this and the following paragraph, see J. W. Adamson: *English Education, 1789-1902* (1930), pp. 43-4.

112. Webbs (Part 2), pp. 443-74: a remarkable analysis of the development of Bristol Corporation between 1689 and 1815. Latimer is also very illuminating about the activities of the Corporation in that period.

113. Barrett, p. 433.

114. Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, has the fullest account. His interpretation, adopted by Sampson (pp. 121-6), is controverted by VCH, Gloucester, II, pp. 375-6.

115. Co. Proc., 1762-72, p. 144.

116. Co. Proc., 1762-72, p. 154.

117. VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 183.

118. Co. Proc., 1762-72, pp. 156-60.

119. Co. Proc., 1762-72, p. 238.

120. Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, p. 377.

121. ACB: Chamberlain's Accounts, 1766-7 and 1767-8, numerous entries, e.g. 1766-7, pp. 53 (Nos. 31, 32), 55 (No. 16), 59 (Nos. 18-21 inclusive), 61 (Nos. 85, 87, 88).

122. Barrett, p. 379.

123. Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, p. 374.

124. VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 375.

125. ACB: Chamberlain's Accounts, 1766-7, pp. 82-3, and 1767-8, p. 85.

126. Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, p. 374.

127. Manchee, I, pp. 39-40.

128. Latimer, *19th Century Bristol*, p. 46.

129. Co. Proc., 1762-72, pp. 329-30; Chron., July, 1927, contains a good article on Bowditch.

130. Barrett, p. 433: Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, p. 396.

131. Latimer, *18th Century Bristol*, p. 377.

132. For the material in this and the following paragraph see Sampson, pp. 126-36, and the authorities there quoted.

133. Co. Proc., 1791-6, p. 342, and 1802-8, p. 53.

134. Co. Proc., 1791-6, p. 342; 1802-8, p. 195; and 1809-14, p. 35.

135. Co. Proc., 1809-14, p. 279.

136. Co. Proc., 1809-14, pp. 282 *et seq.*

137. Co. Proc., 1809-14, p. 366.

138. Co. Proc., 1809-14, p. 296.

139. DNB, IX, pp. 247-9; A. C. Benson: *Fasti Etonienses* (1899), p. 382. I am indebted to F. H. Towill, Esq., for drawing my attention to this reference.

140. Co. Proc., 1820-3, pp. 31-2.

141. Latimer, *19th Century Bristol*, p. 46.

142. Co. Proc., 1814-20, pp. 141 and 145.

143. *Carlisle's Grammar Schools* (1818), II, p. 409; DNB, IV, pp. 426-31.

144. Manchee, I, pp. 39-40; G. Pryce: *History of Bristol* (1861), pp. 160-2.

145. Co. Proc., 1827-32, pp. 86-97.

146. Co. Proc., 1827-32, p. 308.

147. Co. Proc., 1823-7, pp. 116 and 221.

148. Sampson, p. 140.

149. Co. Proc., 1827-32, p. 220.

150. Co. Proc., 1809-14, pp. 348-9 and 355; 1823-7, pp. 216-17; and 1827-32, pp. 222-3 and 407.

151. Co. Proc., 1820-23, p. 161.

152. Webbs (Part 2), pp. 466-8; Latimer, *19th Century Bristol*, pp. 125 and 232; VCH, Gloucester, II, p. 383.

153. Co. Proc., 1809-14, p. 451, and 1823-7, pp. 356-7, 366, and 410-86.

154. Co. Proc., 1827-32, pp. 29-31.

155. Co. Proc., 1827-32, p. 62.

156. Co. Proc., 1827-32, p. 549.

157. *The Bristol Riots, their Causes, Progress, and Consequences*, by a Citizen (1832), pp. 92-3.

158. Co. Proc., 1827-32, pp. 321 and 367.

159. Co. Proc., 1832-5, pp. 233-4.

160. Co. Proc., 31/12/1835-11/3/1837, p. 47.

161. Co. Proc., 31/12/1835-11/3/1837, p. 218.

162. Co. Proc., 31/12/1835-11/3/1837, pp. 272 *et seq.* and 345-6.

163. FGSMB, Jan., 1842.

164. FGSMB, Feb. and Mar., 1837.

165. FGSMB, Oct., 1837.

166. FGSMB, Nov., 1838 and July, 1840.

167. FGSMB, Aug., 1843, June, Aug., and Oct., 1844, July, 1845; Sampson, pp. 144-5; Latimer, *19th Century Bristol*, p. 508n.

*Chapter IV*

168. FGSMB, Nov., 1837, and Nov., 1842.
169. H. A. Shannon and E. Grebenik: *The Population of Bristol* (1943), p. 6.
170. FGSMB, Oct., 1844, Feb., 1846, July, 1847; *City of Bristol Charities—Inspector's Report* (1871), p. 20.
171. FGSMB, May, 1847, and Dec., 1847; *Scheme for . . . the Free Grammar School of the City of Bristol*, 25th June, 1847.
172. FGSMB, Nov. and Dec., 1847.
173. Sampson, pp. 253–62, has a table of numbers to 1912; SEC, XV, p. 20.
174. *Times and Mirror*, 3rd April, 1871.
175. Latimer, *19th Century Bristol*, p. 340; Sampson, pp. 148–9.
176. GSMB, March, 1851; SEC, XV, p. 21.
177. FGSMB, May and Oct., 1850.
178. GSMB, Oct., 1854.
179. Chron., Dec., 1903.
180. GSMB, Jan. and Oct., 1856, and April and Nov., 1858.
181. GSMB, June, 1858; *Daily Press*, 20th May, 1879.
182. GSMB, May, 1860.
183. GSMB, Aug., 1855, and June, 1859; *City of Bristol Charities—Inspector's Report* (1871), p. 28.
184. GSMB, June, 1859.
185. G. Pryce: *History of Bristol* (1861), p. 162n.; Chron., Dec., 1928, has an interesting article by Mr. (now Sir) W. I. Jennings, O.B., quoting *Law Journal Reports*, 29, Ch. 514.
186. GSMB, July, 1860; Chron., Dec., 1895.
187. GSMB, Aug., Nov., Dec., 1860, July and Sept., 1862, June and Oct., 1866.
188. GSMB, Sept., 1862.
189. GSMB, July 1863, June 1864, and June, 1868.
190. This is perhaps the best of the traditional anecdotes about Caldicott.
191. SEC, XV, p. 22; GSMB, Aug., 1867.
192. SEC, XV, pp. 28–9; GSMB, June, 1861, Oct., 1866, and Aug., 1867; *Daily Press*, 8th July, 1867, and 7th Sept., 1867.
193. GSMB, annual examiners' reports, 1851–71.
194. *Mercury*, 21st June, 1873.
195. *Daily Press*, 18th June, 1869.
196. SEC, XV, p. 25; recollections of B. W. Just, O.B.; Chron., July, 1922, and July, 1934.
197. *Times and Mirror*, 7th Sept., 1868, and *Daily Press*, 7th Aug., 1869.
198. FGSMB, Dec., 1848; GSMB, Sept., 1862, and Aug., 1875; Govs. MB, Aug., 1875; SEC, XV, p. 25; *Daily Press*, 22nd June, 1877.
199. GSMB, Oct., 1860.
200. *Daily Press*, 16th June, 1869; SEC, XV, p. 25.
201. SEC, XV, p. 25; *Post*, 30th July and 1st and 2nd Aug., 1878; recollections of B. W. Just, O.B.
202. GSMB, Oct. and Nov., 1868, April, 1870, Feb., 1874; Govs. MB, April, 1876, Feb. 1878, March, 1879; recollections of Rev. G. M. Hutton, O.B.
203. *Times and Mirror*, 28th March, 1872, and 22nd Nov., 1877.
204. *Times*, 29th June, 1869 (Earl de Grey's speech on the second reading of the Endowed Schools Bill in the Lords).
205. GSMB, March, 1870.
206. *Times and Mirror*, 10th June, 1870.
207. GSMB, Aug., 1869, and Jan., 1870; *Daily Press*, 7th April and 7th July, 1870.

208. *Times and Mirror*, 26th Nov., 1870; *Daily Press*, 22nd Nov., 1870.

209. *Post*, 22nd Dec., 1870.

210. *Times and Mirror*, 24th Dec., 1870, 21st Jan. and 9th May, 1871; GSMB, Feb., 1871.

211. GSMB, May, 1871.

212. GSMB, June, 1871; *Daily Press*, 28th Aug., 1871.

213. GSMB, April, 1873; *Times and Mirror*, 10th and 14th May, 1873; *Post*, 4th June, 1873; *Times and Mirror*, 15th April, 1874.

214. *Post*, 16th March, 1874; GSMB, Jan., 1874, and April, 1875.

215. *Post*, 19th June, 1874.

216. *Post*, 18th June, 1875.

217. Govs. MB, Dec., 1875; Endowed Schools Commission, *Schemes* (B.G.S., etc.) (1875), p. 3.

218. Govs. MB, various entries, April, 1876, to June, 1877.

219. *Post*, 11th June, 1877.

220. *Times and Mirror*, 11th June, 1877; Govs. MB, June and Oct., 1878.

221. Govs. MB, various entries, 1877-9.

222. Govs. MB, various entries, 1875-9; *Mercury*, 11th and 12th Dec., 1878.

223. *Post*, 19th May, 1879; *Times*, 19th May, 1879.

### Chapter V

224. Chron., July, 1881.

225. Headmaster's *Report* on new G.S. buildings, 24th Jan., 1877.

226. Chron., April, 1928.

227. Sampson, p. 258.

228. Govs. MB, Sept., 1879, Sept. and Dec., 1881, March, 1882; *Daily Press*, 16th April, 1880, and 1st Sept., 1881; *Post*, 14th Jan., 1880; *Mercury*, 29th July, 1882; Sampson, p. 182.

229. Govs. MB, Jan. and June, 1883; *Daily Press*, 20th Dec., 1880.

230. *Mercury*, 7th Nov., 1895.

231. Sampson, pp. 258-9; Govs. MB, Dec., 1882.

232. Chron., Dec., 1895.

233. Chron., July, 1947.

234. Chron., Dec., 1906.

235. *Mercury*, 7th Nov., 1895; *Daily Press*, 1st Aug., 1883; Chron., July, 1897.

236. *Mercury*, 20th Dec., 1878.

237. *Daily Press*, 22nd June, 1877, 20th Dec., 1881, and 1st Aug., 1883.

238. *Daily Press*, 1st Aug., 1883.

239. Chron., Dec., 1895.

240. Recollections of Rev. G. M. Hutton, O.B.; *Times and Mirror*, 8th Nov., 1881.

241. *Times and Mirror*, 27th Dec., 1871; recollections of H. W. Just, O.B.

242. *Mercury*, 3rd and 5th Sept., 1888.

243. Sir Cyril Norwood to the author.

244. *Daily Press*, 20th Dec., 1881.

245. *Daily Press*, 26th July, 1883.

246. *Times and Mirror*, 6th Oct., 1883.

247. Sampson, pp. 259-60.

248. Govs. MB, Nov., 1888.

249. Govs. MB, Feb. and Sept., 1884; Headmaster's *Reports*, 1883-4.

250. *Times and Mirror*, 12th, 25th, and 29th April, 1884; *Daily Press*, 30th July, 1886.

251. Headmaster's supplementary *Report*, 1887.  
 252. Headmaster's *Report*, 1883.  
 253. *Times and Mirror*, 4th Aug., 1893.  
 254. *Daily Press*, 13th Oct., 1900.  
 255. *Times and Mirror*, 22nd Dec., 1887; *Mercury*, various issues, Aug. and Sept., 1888.  
 256. Sampson, pp. 260-1.  
 257. Headmaster's *Report*, 1900.  
 258. Chron., April, 1910.  
 259. Headmaster's *Reports*, 1888 and 1890.  
 260. Headmaster's *Reports*, 1896 and 1897.  
 261. G. A. N. Lowndes: *The Silent Social Revolution* (1937), p. 47.  
 262. Govs. MB, Sept., 1891.  
 263. *Times and Mirror*, 26th March, 1892.  
 264. Headmaster's *Report*, 1890.  
 265. *Times and Mirror*, 30th July, 1887, and 3rd Aug., 1888.  
 266. *Mercury*, 1st Aug., 1890.  
 267. Headmaster's special *Report*, Jan., 1890; Govs. MB, March, April, and June, 1890.  
 268. Chron., July, 1891.  
 269. *Clifton Chronicle*, 4th Nov., 1891; *Times and Mirror*, 29th July, 1892; Chron., Dec., 1893.  
 270. Headmaster's *Report*, 1900.  
 271. Manchee, I, pp. 106-7.  
 272. Endowed Schools Commission, *Schemes (B.G.S., etc.)* (1875), pp. 17 and 46-7.  
 273. *Times and Mirror*, 4th July, 1888; Govs. MB, Feb., 1889.  
 274. Headmaster's *Reports*, 1898 and 1900.  
 275. Headmaster's *Report*, 1895.  
 276. Chron., July, 1928.  
 277. *Daily News*, 24th July, 1900.  
 278. Sampson, pp. 260-2.  
 279. Govs. MB, Dec., 1900; Headmaster's special *Report*, 1900.  
 280. Govs. MB, Feb., April, and May, 1901.  
 281. *Western Counties Graphic*, 12th Oct., 1901.  
 282. Govs. MB, Nov., 1904.  
 283. Govs. MB, Nov., 1904, Jan. and March, 1905; *Times and Mirror*, 4th Aug., 1905.  
 284. Govs. MB, Jan., 1904.

#### Chapter VI

Nearly all the material of this chapter is taken from the School *Chronicles* between 1879 and 1906, and the dates of particular items are indicated in the text.

285. R. C. K. Ensor: *England, 1870-1914* (1936), p. 164.  
 286. Headmaster's *Report*, 1905.  
 287. Headmaster's *Report*, 1905.

#### Chapter VII

288. Govs. MB, March and April, 1906.  
 289. Chron., Dec., 1906 and Aug., 1908.  
 290. *Daily Press*, 25th April, 1906.  
 291. Chron., Dec., 1908, Dec., 1916, and July, 1947.

292. Chron., Dec., 1909.

293. Chron., Dec., 1906, quoting *Daily Press*, 20th Sept., 1906.

294. Chron., Dec., 1920.

295. Govs. MB, June, July, and Aug., 1906.

296. Chron., July, 1947.

297. Headmaster's *Report*, 1906.

298. Govs. MB, Sept. to Dec., 1906.

299. Chron., Dec., 1906, quoting *Daily Press*, 3rd Oct., 1906.

300. Headmaster's *Report*, 1907.

301. Sir Cyril Norwood to the author.

302. Govs. MB, March, 1907.

303. Chron., Dec., 1916.

304. Sampson, pp. 258-62.

305. Sir Cyril Norwood to the author.

306. Chron., April, 1907; Headmaster's *Report*, 1907.

307. Govs. MB, March and April, 1907.

308. Chron., Aug., 1907.

309. Chron., Aug., 1907.

310. Chron., Aug., 1907.

311. Govs. MB, June and July, 1907.

312. Headmaster's *Report*, 1907.

313. See E. S. Turner: *Boys will be Boys* (1948), esp. Chs. VIII-XII.

314. Chron., Dec., 1907.

315. Sampson, pp. 261-2.

316. Govs. MB, Dec., 1907, and Jan., 1908.

317. Govs. MB, Feb., 1908; Chron., July, 1927.

318. Sampson, pp. 243-5; Chron., July, 1947.

319. Chron., April, 1909; Govs. MB, May, 1908.

320. Chron., Dec., 1909, and April, 1910; *Bristol Observer*, 18th Feb., 1911.

321. Govs. MB, May and July, 1910, and June, 1911; Chron., July, 1911.

322. Chron., July, 1911; Sir Cyril Norwood to the author.

323. Chron., Dec., 1911, April, 1913, and April, 1914.

324. Govs. MB, July, 1910, and April, 1911.

325. Chron., Dec., 1912, and July, 1913.

326. Chron., Dec., 1913.

327. Chron., July, 1914.

328. Chron., July, 1915.

329. Chron., July, 1947.

330. Chron., April, 1909.

331. Chron., July, 1910.

332. Chron., Dec., 1913, and July, 1914.

333. Chron., April, 1912.

334. Chron., Dec., 1909.

335. Chron., Dec., 1912.

336. Chron., July, 1913, and July, 1914.

337. Chron., April and Dec., 1907, and April, 1910.

338. Chron., April, 1910, and April, 1914.

339. Chron., July, 1910, and April, 1912.

340. Govs. MB, Nov., 1908; Headmaster's *Report*, 1913.

341. Chron., July and Dec., 1908, April, 1913, and April, 1915.

342. Chron., Dec., 1907, April, 1910, April, 1914, and April, 1915.

343. Chron., Dec., 1916.

- 344. Chron., April, 1910, July and Dec., 1912, and April, 1913.
- 345. Chron., July, 1915.
- 346. Chron., Dec., 1914.
- 347. Chron., April, July, and Dec., 1915, and April, 1916.
- 348. Headmaster's Report, Dec., 1916.
- 349. Chron., July, 1947.

### *Chapter VIII*

- 350. Chron., Dec., 1916.
- 351. Chron., July, 1938 (tribute by the Captain of the School).
- 352. Chron., March, 1948, and July, 1949.
- 353. Chron., March, 1948.
- 354. Chron., Dec., 1922.
- 355. Govs. MB, Oct., 1879, and June, 1921.
- 356. Govs. MB, March, 1920, and Nov., 1921.
- 357. *Daily Press*, 9th Dec., 1921; Chron., April, 1922.
- 358. Chron., Dec., 1917, and July, 1920.
- 359. Govs. MB, Dec., 1919, May and June, 1925, and Jan., 1926; Chron., April, 1928.
- 360. Chron., July, 1935.
- 361. Chron., Dec., 1917, and Dec., 1918.
- 362. Chron., July, 1930.
- 363. Govs. MB, May, 1927, and Dec., 1929.
- 364. Govs. MB, July, 1928.
- 365. Govs. MB, Nov. and Dec., 1937.
- 366. Chron., Dec., 1924, and April, 1925: the second of these gives interesting details.
- 367. Chron., July, 1921, and July, 1931.
- 368. Chron., July, 1926.
- 369. Chron., July, 1924.
- 370. Chron., July, 1947.
- 371. The *Chronicles* contain some notable appreciations: e.g. July, 1924, July, 1930, July, 1932, July, 1935, July, 1936, Dec., 1936, July, 1938, Dec., 1938, July, 1939.
- 372. Chron., March, 1929.
- 373. Chron., July, 1932 (a special four-hundredth anniversary number), and March, 1948.
- 374. Chron., July, 1938.
- 375. Chron., March, 1938.
- 376. Chron., Dec., 1939, and April, 1940; Govs. MB, Sept., 1939 onwards, *passim*.
- 377. Chron., Dec., 1940, and July, 1948; L. H. Howes, Esq., to the author.
- 378. Chron., March, 1943.
- 379. Chron., Dec., 1943; Govs. MB, Nov., 1944.
- 380. Chron., April, 1944, and March, 1945; *Spectator*, 22nd Dec., 1944.
- 381. From the beginning of 1943, reports of lectures have been a regular feature of the *Chronicle*.
- 382. *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools* (1943), p. 37.
- 383. Chron., Dec., 1944.
- 384. Chron., April, July, and Dec., 1944.
- 385. Govs. MB, April, 1943, Oct., 1944, April, May, and June, 1945, and April, 1946.

- 386. Chron., March, 1947.
- 387. Govs. MB, June, 1945; Chron., July, 1944, July, 1946, July and Dec., 1947, and Dec., 1949.
- 388. Govs. MB, June, 1946; Chron., July, 1946.
- 389. Govs. MB, Nov., 1944.
- 390. Govs. MB, Nov., 1943, Feb., 1945, and Oct., 1948.
- 391. Chron., July, 1946.
- 392. Chron., March, 1948, March and Dec., 1949.
- 393. Chron., April, 1950.

*Chapter IX*

See addendum to second preface.



## Appendix A

### A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL DATES IN THE SCHOOL'S HISTORY

1492 Robert Thorne II born.  
1532 Grant of the School's Charter.  
Robert Thorne II died.  
c. 1536-40 The School moved from the Frome Gate to the Bartholomews.  
1546 Nicholas Thorne I died.  
1561 Bartholomews Lands leased to Nicholas Thorne II.  
1566 Sir Thomas White Scholarship founded.  
1600 William Swift appointed Master.  
1621 Remainder of Bartholomews Lands conveyed to Corporation.  
1627 Whitson Exhibitions established.  
1634 George White Exhibitions established.  
1636 Anne Snigge Exhibitions established.  
1666 First extant School Ordinances issued.  
1700 Scholarship agreement with Balliol College.  
1709 William Goldwin appointed Master.  
1722 Alexander Catcott appointed Master.  
1745 School Ordinances re-issued.  
1767 The School moved from the Bartholomews to Unity Street,  
exchanging buildings with Queen Elizabeth's Hospital.  
c. 1800-11 Decline of School to nil in numbers.  
1812 School Ordinances re-issued. John Joseph Goodenough  
appointed Master.  
1829 School again empty.  
1836 Bristol Charity Trustees appointed.  
1842 Charity Trustees obtained possession of Bartholomews Lands.  
1848 School reopened under new scheme: Robert Evans Headmaster.  
1860 Judgment of the Master of the Rolls against boarders.  
John William Caldicott appointed Headmaster.  
1867 Endowed Schools Commissioners visited the School.  
1875 New Scheme of Government under Endowed Schools Act.  
1879 The School moved to Tyndalls Park.  
The *Chronicle* first issued.  
1883 Robert Leighton Leighton appointed Headmaster.  
1892 New laboratory opened by Sir John Lubbock.

1900 Fenwick Richards Scholarship established.  
Old Boys' Society founded.

1906 Cyril Norwood appointed Headmaster.

1908 Tyndalls Park Pavilion opened.

1909 Preparatory Department transferred to Main Block.  
School Motto and School Song introduced.  
Fenwick Richards Wing opened.

1911 Gymnasium, Fives Court, and Rifle Range opened.

1913 Golden Hill ground bought.

1914 Winterstoke Wing opened.

1917 Joseph Edwin Barton appointed Headmaster.

1928 New Preparatory School opened.

1929 School Library opened.

1932 Four Hundredth Anniversary.

1935 New Pavilion opened at Golden Hill.

1938 Ralph Westwood Moore appointed Headmaster.

1940 New Preparatory School bombed.

1943 John Garrett appointed Headmaster.  
Annual Shakespearean Play production began.

1945 Changes under the Butler Act (1944) began to operate.

1948 Sir Oliver Franks, O.B., appointed H.M. Ambassador to Washington.

1950 War Memorial Gates dedicated.

1952 Opening of 'New Building' (Third Forms), Elton Road.

1952 War Memorial Field at Failand (Old Bristolians)—School first used O.B.s' ground.

1953 No. 7 Elton Road purchased.

1955 No. 9 Elton Road purchased.

1955-6 Biology Laboratory opened. New Staff Room provided.  
Old Staff Room became Library.

1956 Friends of Bristol Grammar School formed.

1957 First Midsummer Fair organised by the Friends.

1958 New Science Building (University Road) opened.

1958 School Ground at Failand first used.

1960 John Mackay appointed Headmaster.

1961 New Pavilion at Failand used.

1962 Failand Pavilion officially opened.  
Curriculum changes.  
Darrell Maltby appointed Master-in-Charge of Lower School.

1963 First School Exchange with U.S.A.

1965 Lodge Hill rented and converted for School use.  
10/65 Circular issued.

1966 No. 4 Elton Road purchased.

1967 No. 3 Elton Road purchased.  
Open Day introduced.

1968 New Terrapin Craft Room. Old Craft Room became Music Room.

1969 Building Appeal launched.  
Full time Director of Music appointed.  
Sixth Form Council established.

1970 Public Schools Commission Report on Direct Grant and Independent Day Schools published.  
Express forms reduced to one.

1971 Three new Terrapins on field.

1973 Second Master's post divided into two, that of Second Master and of Senior Master.  
New Sixth Form Centre and Library opened.

1975 Government's announcement of the ending of Direct Grant.  
Governors' Declaration of Independence.  
Roy Avery appointed Headmaster.  
Headmaster of Lower School joined Governors' School Committee.

1976 Direct Grant System began to be phased out and Independent status was established.  
School Assisted Places introduced to compensate for loss of help under Direct Grant System.  
First Bursar appointed.  
Girls admitted to U62 (scholarship).

1977 *Chronicle* made an annual publication.  
Memorial Gates and Main Building listed as Buildings of Special Architectural and Historical interest.  
13+ entry.

1978 Girls admitted to L6th.  
Peloquin Scholarships extended by Stevenson/Walker endowment.  
Lower School play area extended with help of Lower School Parents.

1979 Centenary Celebrations at Tyndall's Park.  
John James's benefaction first available for new entrants.  
Streaming at end of first year delayed to end of second.  
Introduction of CDT to curriculum.  
Express stream ended.

1980 Girls admitted to Lower School and at 11+.  
Appointment of qualified School Nurse.

New classroom completed for Lower School to enable a two form entry and consequent expansion.

Arts/Science Room completed for Lower School.

1981 A further benefaction from John James.

Government's Assisted Places Scheme implemented.

450th Anniversary Appeal launched.

1982 450th Anniversary Celebrations.

Blessing of site of new classroom block by Very Rev. S.H. Evans.

Laying of Foundation Stone of new classroom block by the Duke of Beaufort.

1983 Opening of new classroom block by H.R.H. Princess Anne. The block was built and equipped as the result of the 450th Anniversary Appeal, including the endowment of Canadian Old Bristolians for the Canada Room and of the Friends for the TV/Lecture Theatre.

John James's gift for an annual award of a Travel Scholarship and trophy to celebrate the 450th Anniversary.

1984 Appointment of Senior Mistress.

1985 First girl Head of School.

Computer Studies Centre established.

Visiting Days inaugurated.

1986 All games moved to Failand.

Modernisation and rationalisation of Science Laboratories which were officially opened by John James.

Art Department moved to old Science Block.

Music School planned.

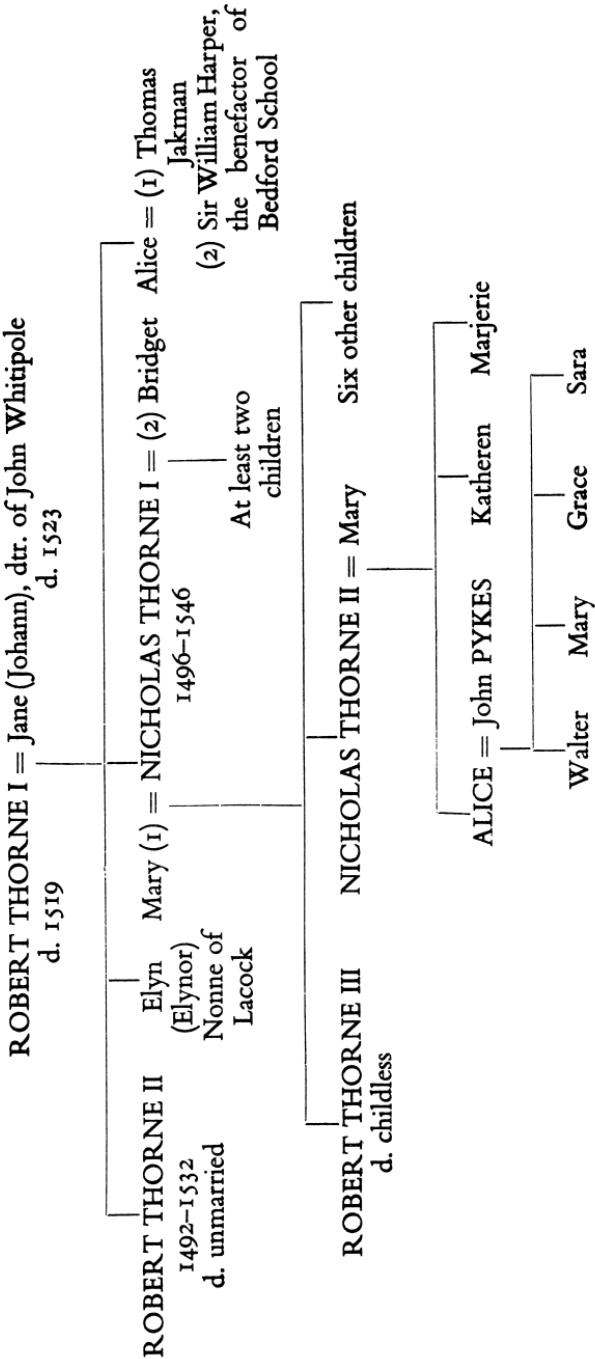
2 new scholarships for award at 13+ and 16+ introduced.

Charles Martin appointed Headmaster.

## Appendix B

### THE THORNES: A GENEALOGICAL TABLE

The following table is abbreviated from the 'Thorne Pedigree in the Harleian Society Publications, Vol. XXI, p. 160. The names of those members of the family whose lives or deaths were relevant to the history of Bristol Grammar School are printed in capitals. Many names have been omitted.



### *Appendix C*

#### THE CHAIRMEN OF GOVERNORS OF BRISTOL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Until the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 the School was governed by the Corporation of the City of Bristol, and from 1836 to 1875 it was under the management of the Trustees of the Bristol Municipal Charities. Its separate governing body came into existence in 1875, and since that date there have been ten Chairmen of Governors.

1875–1903	Herbert Thomas.
1904–1912	Philip John Worsley.
1913–1921	Fenwick Richards.
1921–1934	Herbert Edwin Chattock.
1934–1955	Henley Somerville Evans.
1955–1958	C. Cyril Clarke.
1959–1968	Gilbert S. James.
1968–1975	Charles H. Clements.
1975–1983	David W. Williams.
1983–	James R. Ackland.

## Appendix D

### THE HEADMASTERS OF THE SCHOOL

Until the nineteenth century the Headmasters were known simply as Masters, and their assistants as ushers. We know little of those of the sixteenth century and nothing of any before Thomas Moffat, the "scolemaster" of the City Audit Book of 1532 who took the School to the Bartholomews. The first few dates of this list must remain conjectural.

1. 1532 (or earlier) to c. 1542. Thomas Moffat.
2. c. 1542 to c. 1561. John Harris.
3. c. 1561-2. Mr. Dyconson.
4. c. 1564-5. Mr. Style.
5. c. 1565-6. Mr. Turner.
6. c. 1570-1. Mr. Dunne.
7. c. 1582-3. Mr. White.
8. c. 1584. Mr. Alexander Woodsonne.
9. 1600-22. William Swift, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
10. 1622. Richard (?) Payne, M.A., New College, Oxford.
11. 1622-36. Richard Cheynie, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
12. 1636-38. Henry James, M.A., Trinity College, Oxford.
13. 1638-42. Bartholomew Man, M.A., Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
14. 1642-57. Walter Rainthorp, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
15. 1657-62. John Stephens, M.A., B.C.L., Trinity College, Oxford.
16. 1662-70. William Ball, M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.
17. 1670-87. John Rainthorp, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
18. 1687-89. William Stephens, M.A., St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.
19. 1689-97. Thomas Wotton, M.A., Wadham College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge.
20. 1697-1702. Robert Welstead, M.A.
21. 1702-9. Edward Pearce, M.A., University College, Oxford.
22. 1709-17. William Goldwin, M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
23. 1717-22. James Taylor, M.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
24. 1722-43. Alexander Stopford Catcott, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
25. 1743-64. Samuel Seyer, M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.
26. 1764-1811. Charles Lee.

27. 1812-44. John Joseph Goodenough, M.A., New College, Oxford.
28. 1847-54. Robert Evans, M.A., D.C.L., Jesus College, Oxford.
29. 1855-60. Charles Thomas Hudson, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge.
30. 1860-83. John William Caldicott, M.A., D.D., Pembroke and Jesus Colleges, Oxford.
31. 1883-1906. Robert Leighton Leighton, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
32. 1906-16. Cyril Norwood, M.A., D.Litt., St. John's College, Oxford.
33. 1917-38. Joseph Edwin Barton, M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.
34. 1938-42. Ralph Westwood Moore, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
35. 1943-60. John Garrett, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford.
36. 1960-75. John Mackay, B.A., London, D.Phil., Merton College, Oxford.
37. 1975-86. James Royle Avery, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford, F.R.S.A.
38. 1986- Charles Edmund Martin, M.A., Selwyn College, Cambridge.

## *Appendix E*

### PRIZES

This book has recorded the munificence of the School's benefactors through the centuries in the donation of money, in the foundation of scholarships and in the gift of buildings. It is well to pay tribute to all those numerous friends of the School, be they Old Bristolians, parents, governors, former members of staff, Bristol citizens, or the many other benefactors who have contributed to many prizes and awards in the School. Some of these awards are Memorial prizes. To attempt to list them would be invidious, but all should know that they are presented as prizes, cups or scholarships to recipients who value and appreciate them and who will have gained them for achievement in varied aspects of school life.

## Appendix F

### THE SCHOOL SONG

Written in 1909 by the Headmaster (then Mr. Cyril Norwood), it was set to music by the Director of Music (then Mr. C. W. Stear).

*Nunc universo gaudio,  
Ludo pensisque functi,  
Scholam dilectam sedulo  
Concelebremus cuncti.  
Iam quadringtonos amplius  
Annos laudem meretur,  
Merendo et durabimus,  
Dum nostra urbs servetur.*

*Chorus*  
*Sit clarior, sit dignior,  
Quotquot labuntur menses:  
Sit primus nobis hic decor,  
Sumus Bristolienses.*

*Laudemus iam gratissimi  
Que ante nos fuere:  
Domi forisque splendidi  
Scholam exornavere:  
Per illos est laudabilis,  
Est musis cara sedes,  
Et nos illorum nominis  
Nunc stamus hic haeredes.*

*Sit clarior, etc.*

*Si ludi sit contentio,  
Pro puerili parte,  
Ne superemur proelio,  
Summa nitamur arte:  
Et, si vocamur ad libros,  
Intenti hoc agamus;  
Ludo librisque nonne nos  
Iam palmam auferamus?*

*Sit clarior, etc.*

*Sic placuit nil perperam  
Nil improbi patrare,  
Nam Scholam urbem patriam  
Hic discimus amare:  
In altiora tendimus,  
Scholamque veneremur:  
Dum adsumus, augebimus,  
Nec post obliviscemur.*

*Sit clarior, etc.*



## INDEX

The abbreviation BGS is used for Bristol Grammar School throughout.  
For individual headmasters, *see* Headmasters of BGS.

ABSENCE from school at BGS, 27  
Ackland, James R., 268  
Acts of Parliament, *see* Statutes  
Admission of pupils to BGS,  
24-5, 30, 63, 67, 68, 79, 83,  
168, 215  
Air-raids, 205-6, 207-8  
Air Training Corps, 209  
Alleyn's School, 210  
Arnold, Matthew, 100, 106, 124  
Arnold, Thomas, 79, 84, 124  
Art, 233, 266  
Art-room at BGS, 178, 188, 193,  
215  
Assembly, 235  
Ashman, Sir Herbert, 163  
Athletics, 225  
Attwood, George, 49  
Austin, Judge, 138 n.  
Avon County Council, 243

BADMINTON Club at BGS, 209  
Ball, William, 48, 49  
Barlow, Roger, 6, 7  
Barrett, William, 55, 58, 61  
Bartholomew's, the (St. Bartho-  
lomew's, Bartilmew's), 1, 7,  
8, 11, 13-14, 78  
buildings, 21, 41-2,  
earlier history, 8  
exchanged with Queen Eliza-  
beth's Hospital, 56  
home of BGS, 20-51  
lands—  
litigation over, 15-19  
nineteenth century dispute  
over, 71, 75  
site of BGS, 10

transferred to the Thornes in  
trust, 7-8  
Barton, Mrs. J. E., 205  
Beames, F. ("Billy"), 148, 160  
170, 171, 202, 204  
Beauchamp, F. G., 203, 206 n.  
Beecroft, F. S., 231, 232  
Bethell, Richard (Lord West-  
bury), 66  
Bicycle, 136, 159  
Bicycle sheds at BGS, 177, 187  
Biology, 234, 264  
Blake, Sexton, 174  
Blundell, 34  
Board of Education, 137, 172,  
173, 177, 178, 194, 216  
Boarders (Boarding-house) at  
BGS, 25-6, 33, 52, 56, 60,  
62, 65, 68, 69, 79, 83, 84,  
105, 118, 120, 134, 170, 203,  
206 n.  
Boating at BGS, *see* Rowing  
Bowditch, Thomas, 61  
Bowman, T., 105  
Bradford Grammar School, 191  
Bradley, Dean, 116  
Braham, S. J., 246  
Brightman, F. E., 166-7  
Bristol—  
Cathedral, 2, 8, 209, 222  
Children's Hospital, *see* Cot  
Collection  
Corporation, 11, 15, 55, 73, 78  
and BGS, 14, 16-19, 22, 26,  
29, 32-3, 35, 36, 37-42, 46,  
47-8, 52, 56-60, 62, 63-4,  
65, 66, 68-72, 73-4, 129,  
131, 248  
Grammar School—

chartered by Henry VIII, 1-2;  
 in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 20-37,  
 45-8  
 conjectural medieval origins of, 8-9  
 decline of (c. 1790-1848),  
 Ch. III (*passim*)  
 established by Robert Thorne  
 II, 1, 7-8, 10, 11  
 from 1906 to 1916, Ch. VII  
 (*passim*)  
 impact of Endowed Schools  
 Act upon, 96-103  
 in late Victorian days,  
 108-10, 113-6, 117-39,  
 Ch. VI (*passim*)  
 in mid-Victorian times,  
 85-96, 105-8  
 in the eighteenth century,  
 38-45, 49-51  
 recovery of, after 1848, 78-85  
 since 1917, Ch. VIII (*passim*).  
 (For other references, see  
 appropriate headings, as,  
 Absence from school at  
 BGS, etc.)  
 since 1950, Ch. IX (*passim*)  
 Local Education Authority,  
 194, 217  
 Municipal Charity Trustees,  
 74, 130, 138, 176  
 and BGS, 74-5, 81, 83, 84,  
 85, 87, 93, 96, 98, 100-2,  
 103, 118, 194, 229, 242,  
 248  
 Population of, (1700) 42, (1801)  
 42, 78, (1841) 78, (1861) 78  
 Riots, 55, 73  
 School Board, 106  
 University, 173, 187, 201, 207,  
 218, 222, 239  
 Bryce commission, 124  
 Burnett, Rev. M., 107  
 Burns, William, 45  
 Bursar, 247, 265  
 Butler, Robert, 16  
 CABOT, John, 4, 5  
 Cabot, Sebastian, 6  
 Cadet Corps at BGS, 110, 135,  
 160-1, 163, 170, 172, 174,  
 183, 184, 201, 221  
 Caldicott Library, 197-8  
 Cambridge University, 45, 47,  
 109, 201, 214, 221, 222, 235  
 Colleges—  
 King's, 39, 243  
 Pembroke, 133  
 St. Catharine's, 185  
 St. John's, 270  
 Selwyn, 270  
 Trinity, 105  
 Camp R., 246  
 Canteen at BGS, 209, 219-20  
 Cap at BGS, 85, 105, 206  
 Careers Dept., 235  
 Carey, F. S., 140  
 Carpenter's shop at BGS, *see*  
 Workshops  
 Carr, John, 56  
 Caudwell, L. V., 203  
 Caving Club at BGS, 206  
 Cercle Français at BGS, 183  
 Chantrill, B. S., 200  
 Charity Commissioners and  
 BGS, 60, 66-8, 79, 85, 97,  
 118, 120, 132, 137  
 Charter Day Service of BGS, 2,  
 222  
 Charter of BGS, 1, 2, 8, 204, 228  
 Chattock, H. E., 201, 268  
 Cheltenham College, 228  
 Chess Club at BGS, 209  
 Choir at BGS, 206, 212, 237  
 Chronicle of BGS, the, 108, 117,  
 130, 131, 132, 134-5, Ch. VI  
 (*passim*), 164-5, 172, 178,  
 179, 181, 183, 184, 186, 187,  
 191, 199-200, 204, 206, 209,  
 211, 220, 236, 240, 245,  
 248-9

Churchill, Winston S., 220  
Circular 10/65, 242  
Clarendon Code, the, 23  
Clarke, C. C., 268  
Class background of BGS boys, 25-6, 48, 58-9, 60, 67, 68-9, 80-1, 84, 106, 121, 132, 171, 173, 194-5, 217  
Classics at BGS, 28, 43-4, 67, 75, 87, 88-9, 119, 126, 133, 167 n., 218, 225, 233  
Clements, Charles H., 243, 268  
Clevedon, 161  
Clifton College, 84, 100, 101, 113, 115, 123-4, 127, 171, 221, 237  
Clocks—  
at Golden Hill, 178  
at Tyndalls Park, 109  
Clubs, 236, 239  
Coal, price of, 194 n.  
Coats-of-arms of BGS benefactors, 222 n.  
Co-education, 238  
Collins, Emanuel, 49  
Collins, Rev. S. T., 210, 218-19  
Colston, Edward, 38, 56, 180  
Colston's School, 99  
Combined Cadet Force, 238 (*see Cadet Corps*)  
Commercial Education at BGS, 125-7  
Comprehensive Education, 242, 243  
Computer, 265  
Concerts at BGS, 118, 149-51, 182, 200, 215  
Corporal Punishment at BGS, 94, 95, 118  
Cot Collection at BGS, 184, 187, 215  
Cranmer, Thomas, 25  
Crawford, Lionel, 177  
Cricket at BGS, 92, 134, 135, 153, 154, 155-6, 171-2, 180, 181, 182, 206, 221, 225, 226, 238  
Cripps, Sir Stafford, 220  
Croft or Crofts, George, 1, 2-3, 7  
Cross Commission, 124  
Cross-country at BGS, 134, 153, 215  
Crypt Grammar School (Gloucester), 190, 191  
Curriculum at BGS, 28, 54, 75, 79, 87-8, 199, 225, 247, 264  
Cyclists' Club at BGS, 159

DAMPIER, Alderman, 59  
Dancing at BGS, 184  
Dando, W. J., 168 n., 202  
Daniel, Alderman, 62, 63, 70  
Darville, Rev. George, 65-6  
Davies, D. S., 167  
Deane, John, 38  
Deane Jones, Idris, 191  
Debating Society at BGS, 134, 135, 145-8, 149, 182-3, 199, 200  
De la Warr or La Warr, *see* West  
Dicker, E. B., 202-3  
Dinners at BGS, 85, 219-20  
Direct Grant, 224, 229, 241, 242, 243, 265  
Discipline at BGS, 85-6, 90, 94, 119, 169-70, 235  
Divinity at BGS, 88, 89  
Dix, William Chatterton, 80 n.  
Dotheboys Hall, 53  
Douglas, Lewis, 221  
Drawing at BGS, 88, 120  
Dyer, Richard, 34

ECONOMICS, 225  
Edwards, William, 63  
Eldon, Lord, 54  
Electric light at BGS, 176 n., 193, 198, 220  
Eliot, Hugh, 4  
Elizabeth, Queen, 20-1, 23, 215  
Elton Rd., 225, 228, 244, 264  
Emanuel School, 102

Endowed Schools Commission (1867), 86, 87, 93, 96, 97, 101, 102, 103, 111, 113, 121, 131  
 English at BGS, 44, 79, 87, 88, 125, 137-8  
 Estcourt, Edmund, 37  
 Eton College, 39, 64, 111  
 Evans, Henley S., 222, 268  
 Evans, John, 49  
 Examination of BGS boys, 42-5, 88-90, 171  
 Exhibitions—  
     at BGS, 199  
     University, *see* Universities  
 Expulsion from BGS, 27-8, 86, 95, 114  
  
 FAILAND, 226, 239, 264, 266  
 Fencing Classes at BGS, 209  
 Fenwick Richards Wing, 175, 176-7, 181, 197  
 Ferrar, W. L., 185  
 Figgins, R. L., 116 n.  
 Filton, 138  
 Fitch, J. G., 98, 99, 101, 102, 103  
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund, 124  
 Fives at BGS, 92, 131 n. 177, 182, 188  
 Fleming Committee (Report), 211, 216  
 Football at BGS, 92, 134, 135, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156-8, 165, 180, 181-2, 200, 221, 226, 238  
 Ford, H. G., 170, 171  
 Forster, W. E., 106, 121  
 Four hundredth anniversary of BGS Charter, 204  
 Four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of BGS Charter, 247, 266  
 Frampton, G., A.R.A., 111  
 Franks, Oliver S., 201, 220-1  
 Free place boys at BGS, 172, 173, 195, 217  
 Freeman, W. A., 171  
  
 French at BGS, *see* Modern Languages  
 Frewer, Rev. H., 165  
 Friday afternoon, 225  
 Friends of BGS, 226-7, 247, 264  
 Frome Gate, the, 9, 10, 21  
 Fry, A. M., 177  
 Fry, Thomas, 48, 49  
 Fuller, Thomas, 12  
  
 GAMES at BGS, 92, 115, 130, 135, 152-8, 181-2, 186-7, 188, 200, 206, 207, 221, 225, 238, 239, 266 (*see also* separate references to individual games)  
 Gas at BGS, 82, 85  
 Gaunt's Hospital, 9  
 G.C.S.E. A, 225, 233, 234, 244  
 G.C.S.E. O, 225, 234  
 General Inspection, 225  
 Geographical Society at BGS, 200  
 Geography at BGS, 79, 88, 89, 125, 234  
 German at BGS, *see* Modern Languages  
 Gill, E. W. B., 133, 167 n.  
 Girls, 265, 266  
 Gloucestershire Local Education Authority, 217  
 Glover, T. R., 132, 133, 146-7, 166, 185, 198 n.  
 Golden Hill Ground, 179-80, 196, 207, 226, 228  
 Gooderiche or Godrych or Goodrygge, John, 1, 4-5  
 Gordon, John George, 80, 82  
 Gough, H. W., 203  
 Governors of BGS, 103-4, 110, 116, 117, 130, 131-2, 136, 137, 138, 139, 153, 154, 164, 167, 172, 175, 178, 181, 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 193, 194, 195, 198, 201, 205-6, 208, 216, 218, 219, 228, 242, 243, 244, 247, 248, 271

Graham, H. E., 159  
 Great Hall of BGS, the, 12, 86, 108–9, 110, 119, 120, 163, 175, 186, 193, 194, 198, 199, 204, 212, 215, 218, 219–20, 222  
 Great Western Railway, 78  
 Greek at BGS, *see* Classics  
 Gregory, J. E., 200  
 Guerra, Monsieur, 183, 201  
 Gymnasium, 92, 120, 131 n., 134, 177, 188

HADEN'S warm water apparatus, 104  
 Half-holidays at BGS, 27, 29–30  
 Halnaker, 2  
 Hansell, E. H., 89  
 Hardynge, Robert, 9  
 Harper, William, 13, 267  
 Harrison, George, 33, 35  
 Harrison, J. M., 231  
 Harrow County Grammar School, 247  
 Harrow School, 189, 210  
 Harvest Camps, 209  
 Haselwood, 53  
 Hawtrey, Edward, 64  
 Hayward, William, 49  
 Headmasters of BGS—  
   Avery, James Royle (1975–86), 247, 265, 270  
   Ball, William (1662–70), 36, 243  
   Barton, Joseph Edwin (1917–38), 109, 190–3, 195, 198 n., 200, 203, 204, 205, 210, 213, 215, 221, 222, 270  
   Caldicott, John William (1860–83), 85, 86, 89, 93–6, 98, 100–4, 106–16, 120, 122, 125, 126, 132, 140, 149, 165, 166, 169, 189, 218, 219, 222, 270  
   Catcott, Alexander Stopford (1722–43), 40, 43–4, 46, 50, 196, 200, 243  
   Cheyne, Richard (1622–36), 35, 46, 269  
   Dunne (c. 1570–1), 34, 269  
   Dyconson (c. 1561–2), 34, 269  
   Evans, Robert (1847–54), 80, 81, 82, 113, 270  
   Garrett, John (1943–60), 189, 210–11, 212–13, 214, 219, 221, 224–8, 235, 270  
   Goldwin, William (1709–17), 39–40, 41, 49, 269  
   Goodenough, John Joseph (1812–44), 64–8, 72, 75–7, 205, 270  
   Harris, John (c. 1542–61), 13, 34, 269  
   Hudson, Charles Thomas (1855–60), 82–3, 85, 92, 113, 270  
   James, Henry (1636–48), 35, 269  
   Lee, Charles (1764–1811), 52, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61–3, 64, 65, 269  
   Leighton, Robert Leighton (1883–1906), Ch. V. (*passim*), 144, 149, 151, 153, 154, 155, 163, 164, 166, 168–71, 185, 195, 200, 218, 270  
   Mackay, John (1960–75), 228–47 (*passim*), 264  
   Man, Bartholomew (1638–42), 35, 269  
   Martin, Charles Edmund (1986–), 266, 270  
   Moffat, Thomas (c. 1532–42), 10, 13, 34, 269  
   Moore, Ralph Westwood (1938–42), 205–10, 220, 270  
   Norwood, Cyril (1906–16), 111, Ch. VII (*passim*), 190, 191, 194, 197, 202, 204–5, 211, 215, 218, 221, 222, 226, 270, 272

Payne, Richard (?) (1622), 35,  
     269  
 Pearce, Edward (1702-9), 38,  
     269  
 Rainsthorp, John (1670-87), 37,  
     49, 269  
 Rainsthorp, Walter (1642-57),  
     35-6, 46, 269  
 Seyer, Samuel (1743-64), 41,  
     42, 49, 52, 61, 269  
 Stephens, John (1657-62), 23,  
     36, 269  
 Stephens, William (1687-89),  
     37, 269  
 Style (c. 1564-5), 34, 269  
 Swift, William (1600-22), 35,  
     269  
 Taylor, James (1717-22), 40,  
     41, 269  
 Turner (c. 1565-6), 34, 269  
 Welstead, Robert (1697-1702),  
     37, 269  
 White (c. 1582-3), 34, 269  
 Woodsonne, Alexander (c.  
     1584), 34, 269  
 Wotton, Thomas (1689-97),  
     37, 269  
 Headmasters' Conference, 246  
 Headmaster's Fund at BGS, 213  
 Henderson, R. B., 210  
 Hewer, T. F., 201  
 Hicks, R. D., 105  
 Hill, L. Raven, 166  
 Hillard, F. A., 164  
 History at BGS, 79, 88, 89, 125,  
     185  
 Hitler, Adolf, 205  
 Hobhouse, Benjamin, 62  
 Hockey at BGS, 135, 153, 154,  
     158, 171, 180, 182, 200, 225,  
     226, 238  
 Holidays at BGS, length of, 26-7,  
     63-4, 93  
 Holmes, F. B., 203  
 Holmes, J. G., 134, 136, 170  
 Holmes-Gore, Hugh, 149  
 Houses for games at BGS, 155,  
     168, 171, 200, 225  
 Huntington, Robert, 49  
 IMPERIAL Tobacco Company, 176  
 Independence, 242, 243, 247, 265  
 JAMAICA, 136  
 James I, Canons of, 23  
 James, G. S., 268  
 James, John, 247, 265, 266  
 James, William, 48  
 Jennings, W. Ivor, 191 n., 193,  
     203  
 Jowett, Benjamin, 116  
 Junior Social Club at BGS, 183,  
     200  
 Just, H. W., 166  
 KALENDARS Gild, the, 9  
 King Edward's School, Birmingham,  
     108  
 Kitchen, Abel, 15  
 Kitchen, Robert, 33  
 LABORATORIES at BGS, 118, 119,  
     120, 129, 168, 175, 176, 188,  
     198, 215  
 Lane, Allen, 203  
 Langford, George, 180  
 Latimer, John, 39, 60, 61, 81  
 Latin at BGS, *see* Classics  
 Laud, William, 49  
 Lavatory accomodation at BGS,  
     85, 188  
 Lectures at BGS, 149, 214  
 Leeds Grammar School, 164, 171  
     Case, 54, 67  
 Leighton, Wilfrid, 219  
 Lewis, Rev. Israel, 63  
 Library at BGS, 14, 45-6, 77, 85,  
     94, 120, 188, 196-8, 206, 215,  
     245-6, 265  
 Literary and Debating Society at  
     BGS, *see* Debating Society  
 Lock, J. B., 111

Lodge Hill, 234, 264  
 Lower School, 216-17, 234,  
 240-1, 247, 264, 265, 266 (*see*  
 Preparatory School)  
 Lubbock, Sir John, 129  
 Lumber camps, 209

MACKAY, E. J. H., 203  
 Mackay, Margaret, 246  
 Maclean, Sir Donald, 204  
 McArthur, Charles, 163  
 McGowan, Rev. H., 185  
 McGregor, R. J., 206 n.  
 McNair Committee, 211  
 Magazine Club at BGS, 148  
 Maidment, J. J., 203  
 Manchester Grammar School,  
 116, 121  
 Manual Instruction at BGS, *see*  
 Workshops  
 Marlborough College, 188  
 Mary, H.M. Queen, 215  
 Masters of BGS = Headmasters,  
*see* Headmasters  
 Masters of BGS = assistant  
 masters, 106, 108, 110, 145,  
 153, 170, 171, 180, 182, 186,  
 194, 198, 202-3, 206 n., 207,  
 209, 211, 218-19, 224, 230-2,  
 239, 244, 247, 265  
 early, qualifications required of,  
 23-4, 28, 30  
 in Victorian times, 80, 81-2, 86,  
 101  
 rules for, 24, 30-1, 37  
 and government of BGS,  
 101, 103  
 salaries of, 7, 13, 17, 18, 26,  
 32-4, 36, 41, 63, 65-6, 80, 81,  
 83, 165, 168, 172, 188, 194  
 Mathematics at BGS, 79, 87, 88,  
 89, 125, 132, 133, 234  
 Memorial Gates, 226, 264  
 Meredith, Jonas, 47  
 Merchant Taylors' Crosby, 228  
 Merchant Taylors School, 40, 164

Merchant Venturers'—  
 School, 119, 123, 171  
 Technical College, 60  
 Middlecote, Sergeant, 207, 208  
 Mill, John Stuart, 124  
 Miller, John, 23  
 Ministry of Education, 216  
 Modern Languages at BGS, 79,  
 80, 87, 118, 125  
 Monkton Combe School, 156  
 Morley, Samuel, 111  
 Morris, Leslie, 218  
 Motto of BGS, 15, 180 n., 181  
 Munche, Herr, 82  
 Muschamp, J. G. S., 86, 110, 111,  
 133, 140, 141, 160, 161, 170,  
 185, 218  
 Music at BGS, 151, 187, 199, 209,  
 212, 233, 237, 265, 266 (*See*  
 also Choir, Concert, Orchestra,  
 Organ, Singing)

NETHWAY, George, 34  
 Non-teaching staff, 247  
 North West Passage, the, 6-7  
 Norwood committee (Report),  
 211, 214  
 Norwood, Mrs. Cyril, 172, 180  
 Nottingham, 228  
 Number of pupils at BGS, (1717)  
 39, (c. 1750) 42, (1767) 58, (c.  
 1810) 61-2, (1818) 66, (1821)  
 67, (1829) 69, (1848-56) 80,  
 (1855-60) 82-3, (1867) 86,  
 (1875) 87, (1879-80) 109,  
 (1880-3) 110, (1885-95) 117,  
 (1884-1900), 127, (1900-6)  
 134, (1906) 169, 170,  
 (1907-8) 175, (1909) 177,  
 (1911) 178, (1913-15) 185,  
 (1916) 187, 188, (1917-19)  
 195, (1921) 194, (1928-32)  
 196, (1938) 205, (1939) 206,  
 (1940-1) 208, (1942) 209,  
 (1944) 215, (1945-50) 218,  
 224

OAKLEY, C. E., 89, 90  
 Officers' Training corps at BGS,  
*see Cadet Corps*  
 Old Boys/Bristolians—  
   activities of, 39–40, 49, 52, 62,  
   136, 154, 160, 166, 168, 169,  
   172, 182, 203, 204, 207, 215,  
   221, 226, 246–7, 271  
   notable, 42, 49, 61, 62, 66, 105,  
   129, 132, 133, 151, 159, 162,  
   163, 166–7, 185, 193, 200,  
   203, 210  
   Society, 136, 141, 149, 163,  
   169, 177, 203  
 Open Day, 235, 265  
 Openshaw, T. W., 86, 94, 127  
 Orchestra at BGS, 206, 212  
 Ordinances of BGS, (1666) 22–9,  
   (1745) 29–31, 39, 41, (1812)  
   63–4  
 Organ at BGS, 109–10, 152, 182,  
   198  
 Osborne, E. H. T., 159  
 Oundle School, 123  
 Owen, Dr. (Charity and lands),  
   75, 208  
 Oxford University, 39, 40, 45,  
   47, 48, 109, 201, 214, 221,  
   222  
 Colleges—  
   All Souls', 185  
   Balliol, 38, 47–8, 114, 185,  
   270  
   Brasenose, 105, 109, 166  
   Christ Church, 35, 269, 270  
   Corpus Christi, 185, 269  
   Exeter, 210, 270  
   Jesus, 80, 85, 270  
   Magdalen, 35, 166, 269, 270  
   Merton, 49, 133, 167, 191,  
   270  
   New, 35, 64, 243, 270  
   Oriel, 269  
   Pembroke, 41, 85, 190, 269,  
   270  
   St. Edmund Hall, 269  
   St. John's, 37, 40, 46, 47, 48,  
   49, 70, 164, 189, 215, 269,  
   270  
   The Queen's, 185, 201, 220  
   Trinity, 35, 269  
   University, 269  
   Wadham, 36, 105, 114, 269  
   Worcester, 109  
 PAPER-CHASES at BGS, *see* Cross-country  
 Parents, 226, 230, 231, 247  
 Paris, 201, 220  
   Exhibition of 1867, 87  
 Parker, H. A. M., 171  
 Pavilions—  
   at Golden Hill, 179, 188, 196  
   at Tyndalls park, 172, 177, 188  
 Peloquin—  
   Fund, Gifts, 100, 102  
   Mrs. Mary Ann, 100, 102, 131  
   scholarships, 121 n., 131, 132,  
   173, 217, 219, 265  
 Percival, John, 123–4  
 Perry, C. B., 201  
 Perry, F. C., 197, 246  
 Phillips, James, 82, 87, 94, 107,  
   162  
 Photographic Club at BGS, 148  
 Pickels, R. C. W., 181, 200  
 Pitt, F. S., 218  
 Play days at BGS. *see* Half-holidays  
 Playing-fields at BGS, 115, 118,  
   119, 129–31, 154, 179–80,  
   188, 196, 198  
 Plays at BGS, 149, 183, 211, 212,  
   213–14, 224, 227, 235, 236,  
   237  
 Poor scholars at BGS, 118, 131,  
   194–5  
 Porters at BGS, 104, 105, 110,  
   118, 168, 202, 207  
 Preparatory School at BGS, 136,  
   170, 177, 179, 181, 185–6,  
   195, 196, 203, 207–8, 213

216, 218, 222, 225 (*See Lower School*)  
Prize Day at BGS, 88, 90-2, 112, 113, 119, 124, 130, 138, 141-2, 169, 194, 195, 200, 209, 222, 234  
Prizes at BGS, 271  
Pryce, George, 67, 84  
Public Schools, 79, 84, 106, 123-4, 211, 216  
Public Schools Commission, 242  
Pykes, Alice, 17, 18, 19, 33, 71, 180, 241  
Pykes, Nicholas, 18  
QUEEN Elizabeth's Hospital (Bristol), 23, 56, 60, 62, 70, 78, 99, 103, 131, 132  
exchange of buildings with BGS, 55-60, 78  
RADFORD, William, 38  
Rainstock, Walter, 38  
Rambling Club at BGS, 160  
Raynes Park County School, 210  
Red Maids School (Bristol), 47, 77, 99, 103, 131, 176  
Restoration of 1660 and BGS, 23, 28-9, 36  
Richards, Fenwick, 175-6, 177, 178-9, 187, 195, 201, 268  
Rifle Range at BGS, 177, 188  
Riseley, George, 152  
Roberts, C. E., 218  
Rogers, F. G., 200  
Rogers, J. E. Thorold, 88, 89, 90, 117  
Rootham, C. B., 151, 166  
Rossall School, 205  
Rowe, R. C., 105  
Rowing at BGS, 92, 153-4, 160, 187  
Royal Life Saving Society, 226  
Rugby School, 152  
Russian, 233  
ST. AUGUSTINE'S Abbey, 8, 9, 10  
St. Bartholomew's Hospital, *see Bartholomews*  
Sampson, C. H., 105, 166  
Sampson, W. A., 81  
Sanders, John Naish, 80, 176  
Schemes of government for BGS, 79, 83, 99-100, 101, 102, 103, 194  
School day at BGS, length of, 26-7, 29, 93, 168, 207  
School Song of BGS, 181, 247-8  
Science at BGS, 79, 87, 89-90, 94, 129, 133, 136, 137, 198, 199, 213, 225, 228  
Science Club (Society) at BGS, 148, 187, 200  
Scott, Captain R. F., 174, 184  
Scouts, 174  
at BGS, 183, 186, 187, 200  
Scripture Union at BGS, 183  
Sergeant, John, 13, 34  
Sergeants at BGS, *see* Porters  
Seville, 3, 5, 6  
Shorthand at BGS, 125, 127  
Shrewsbury School, 205  
Singing at BGS, 106, 118, 209  
Sixthform at BGS, 114, 141, 144, 209, 212, 214, 233, 234, 238, 239-60, 244  
Sixth Form Centre, 245, 246, 265  
Smalridge, Bishop, 40  
Smith, Hubert Llewellyn, 129, 144, 166, 176  
Snigge, Mrs. Anne, 47  
exhibitions, 47, 48, 70  
Snigge, Sir George, 18  
Somerset Local Education Authority, 217  
South African War, 136, 162-3  
Spelling at BGS, 89  
Sports at BGS, 93, 134, 135, 153, 158-9, 171, 180, 200, 209  
Staff at BGS, *see* Masters  
State intervention and BGS, 96-103, 124, 132, 137, 166, 173, 216-18

## Statutes—

Board of Education (1899), 124  
 Charitable Uses (1603), 17  
 Education (Balfour, 1902), 97, 124, 166, 171, 173  
 Education (Butler, 1944), 97, 121, 137, 216–18, 219, 224  
 Education (Forster's, 1870), 97, 106, 121–2, 174  
 Endowed Schools (1869), 96–7, 98, 102, 106, 216  
 Five Mile (1665), 23  
 Grammar Schools (1840), 54  
 Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) (1890), 124  
 Municipal Reform (1835), 72, 73, 74, 76, 248  
 Parliamentary Reform (1832), 72  
 Technical Instruction (1889), 124  
 Uniformity (1662), 23  
 Stear, Charles W., 152, 170, 181, 202, 272  
 Stow, John, 12  
 Stump, Thomas, 37, 38  
 Swimming at BGS, 153, 171, 225–6

TAUNTON Commission, *see*  
 Endowed Schools Commission

Terms at BGS, length of, 26–7, 63–4, 93  
 Theatre Royal (Bristol), 213  
 Thomas, George, 92, 93  
 Thomas, Herbert, 104, 126, 138, 268  
 Thorne Lodge, 134, 155  
 Thorne, Nicholas I, 1, 3, 11, 12–14, 15, 222, 267  
 memorial brass, 12, 198–9, 222  
 will, 12, 13–14, 32  
 Thorne, Nicholas II, 15, 16–17, 18, 19, 25, 28, 32, 180, 267  
 Thorne, Robert I, 1, 3, 4–5, 267

Thorne, Robert II, 1, 3, 10, 14, 26, 32, 104, 111, 121, 163, 175, 222, 267  
 benefactor of BGS, as, 7–8  
 career, 5–7, 11  
 epitaph, 12  
 geographer, as, 6–7  
 letter to Edmund Lee, 3–4, 6  
 portrait, 5, 222, frontispiece  
 will, 5, 11  
 Thorne, Robert III, 11, 15, 267  
 Thorne Society, 148–9 209  
 Thorne, Vincent, 5, 11, 13  
 Thring Edward, 84  
 Tisdall, W. N., 159  
 Tobacco and BGS, 180  
 Travel, 227, 237–8, 239  
 Tucker, Rowland, 36–7  
 Turner, W. J., 214  
 Tyndall, William, 16  
 Tyndalls Park, 85, 96, 100, 103, 129, 130, 155, 165, 170, 173, 179, 180, 186, 205, 206, 207, 209, 213, 224  
 BGS buildings at, 104–5, 106, 107, 108–9, 120, 172, 176–7, 178–9, 189, 195–6, 208, 220, 264, 265, 266, (See also Elton Road, Fenwick Richards Wing, Great Hall, Pavilions, Winterstoke Wing)

## UNITY Street, site and buildings of BGS at, 56–9, 60–1, 86–7, 92, 95, 123, 205

## Universities—

BGS and, 39–40, 45, 46–9, 109, 132, 173, 200, 201, 214, 222  
 exhibitions and scholarships at, 46–8, 70, 89, 105, 109, 113, 114, 119, 123, 128, 129, 132, 133, 185, 206, 214–15, 218, 221, 224, 235  
 University local examinations, 82, 93, 118

VEALE D., 185  
Victoria Rooms, 237  
Visitation of BGS, annual mayoral, 41, 43-5

WAKEFIELD Grammar School, 116, 190, 191  
Walker, F. W., 116  
Walsh, James, 35  
War Memorials at BGS, (1914-18) 194, 199, (1939-45) 221  
Weekes, Arthur, 163  
Weekes, G. A., 133  
Weekes, Rev. W. H., 162-3, 179  
Wesley, John, 40  
West, Thomas (ninth Baron de Warr), 1, 2, 7-8, 11, 32, 222  
Westbury, Lord, *see* Bethell, Richard  
Westcott, G. J. B., 170, 202  
Western College, 208  
Whibley, Leonard, 133, 166  
"Whisky Money," 124, 128-9, 131, 194  
White, George, 47  
exhibitions, 47, 70

White, Sir Thomas, 46, 222  
scholarships, 46, 48, 70, 215  
Whitgift School, 54  
Whitson, John, 15, 32, 47  
exhibitions, 47, 48, 49, 70  
Wickham, Richard, 45  
Williams, 34  
William, David W., 243, 268  
Williams, Master, 34  
Wills, Melville, 179, 196  
Wills, Miss Janet Stancomb, 178  
Wills, W. H. (Lord Winterstoke), 105, 109-10, 178  
Winterstoke, Lord, *see* Wills, W. H.  
Winterstoke Wing, 178-9, 184, 186, 198, 206  
Wireless, 162, 174, 199  
Wolverhampton Grammar School, 205  
Woodward, Francis, 44, 45  
Workshops at BGS, 120, 137, 168, 172, 175, 187, 188  
Worldwar—  
First, 137, 186-7, 193-4  
Second, 196, 207-10  
Worsley, Philip J., 138, 167, 201, 268  
Wyatt, Rev. Vitruvius P., 169

